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The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE

FIVE out of the seven chapters of this book were first delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary, as the Students' Lectures on Missions for 1912-13, and were repeated at other Universities and Seminaries in the United States. To these five lectures two new chapters have been added, as well as all the notes, and a great deal of supplementary matter beside.

For all that concerns the origin of the Christian Church in Rome and the earliest protests against the ever-growing pretensions of the Papacy (Chap. I) I am greatly indebted to the works of my old professor, afterwards my affectionate colleague, Dr. E. Comba.[1] Also in resuming the early history of the Israel of the Alps (Chap. IV) I have followed Professor E. Comba and Professor J. Jalla, the best authorities on the history of the Waldenses. To what they have said nothing new can be added until some fresh document be discovered.

[1] *Introduzione alla Storia della Riforma in Italia. I nostri Protestanti.*

To some it may appear that I have been too lavish in my use of quotations. I would say that this is due to a deliberate purpose. Writers upon religious history in particular are in danger of being thought too subjective, or even biassed in their statement of fact by their own cherished convictions. I know no better way of guarding against such a suspicion than by citing as fully as is possible the statements made about these same facts by other men who hold other faiths or none at all.

Finally, I have to express my deepest gratitude to my most faithful co-worker for the last twenty-three years of my life (to whom this book is inscribed), and to Mr. William P. Henderson for so effectually polishing, here and there, my English. My thanks are also due to my publishers for so courageously undertaking the issue of a book such as this, written by one who is an ardent admirer of America but till now almost completely unknown on this side of the ocean.

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New York,
January 1, 1913.

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I

THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY IN ROME. THE WRONG PATH. FIRST CRIES OF ALARM

I

THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY IN ROME. THE WRONG PATH. FIRST CRIES OF ALARM

"YOUR faith is spoken of throughout the whole world."[1] These glorious words were written in the spring of the year 59 by the Apostle of the Gentiles at Corinth to the church of Rome. What of the origin of a church so spiritually flourishing as to deserve such praise from the greatest of all the apostles? It is strange, but we know absolutely nothing of the origin of this strategic point, which very probably was the first stormed by Christianity to conquer Europe to the new faith. We know that the church of Rome was born in the apostolic century; we know that she was born before any of the apostles had ever come over to the West; we know therefore that when we call her "apostolic," we must understand her to be such not directly, but only indirectly; and that is all. So

[1] Romans i. 8.

it happens in this world: What we are most eager to know, remains often an unfathomable mystery to us all; and as it almost always happens that popular fancy largely supplies with its romantic legends the silence of history, so, in our case, the same popular fancy which created the legend of Romulus to explain the origin of Rome, created also the legend of Peter, of his episcopacy, and of his twenty-five years pontificate, to explain the origin of the Church of Rome.

*
* *

When in Rome, I like to wander at sunset through the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars. Sunset in Rome is not like sunset in any other town of Italy. In Venice it is the hour of dreams of love in fairyland; in Florence it is the hour of glorious visions of art; in Naples it is the hour in which life seems to merge all its anxieties in an immense wave of fantastic music and bright melody; in Rome it is the solemn hour in which one feels the infinite, the mysterious hour of great historical reconstructions. And there, beyond the Tiber, east of the Janiculum and south of the Vatican, I rebuild in my imagination the ancient Ghetto, the miserable, almost hidden quarter

swarming with the squalid descendants of those Jews whom Pompey brought to Rome as slaves. That Ghetto was the cradle of the Christian Church. How the Church happened to be born there is not easy to explain. Every year from the Roman Ghetto not a few pious Jews directed their steps towards Jerusalem to offer their sacrifices in the Temple. Some of those Jews were to be seen on the day of Pentecost among the crowd to whom St. Peter preached. Is it not natural to think that some Jew, converted on that great day, brought to Rome the first seeds of the Gospel?[2] Again we know that the foundation of the church of Antioch was due to a handful of laymen driven away from Jerusalem by the storm of persecution; we also know that those faithful men sowed the good seed all over Syria; and as from Syria, from Asia Minor, and from Greece people used to flock to Rome continually and in great numbers, should we be far wrong if we conjectured that it was through this channel that the first news of the Gospel reached the Eternal City?

Be this as it may, there remains the fact: that the Christian church of Rome came to light in the Jewish cradle of the Ghetto. There the first Chris-

[2] This is the view of Baur, Reuss, Thiersch, Mangold, A. Sabatier, Renan, Holtzmann, and others.

tian missionary movement had its beginning and, undisturbed,[3] grew to such an extent as to cause uproars in the Ghetto, which decided the Emperor Claudius, in the year 52, to issue the first decree of banishment against the Jews.[4] And see how wonderful are the ways of God! As the persecution which broke out at Jerusalem became the means by which a handful of faithful emigrants took the Gospel through all Syria so that from Syria the Gospel was able to find its way to Rome, so, in a like manner, the decree of Claudius banished from Rome, among others, Priscilla and Aquila,[5] who, after having found a refuge in Corinth and Ephesus, became the hosts, partners, and protectors of the Apostle Paul.

[3] The presence of the princes of the house of Herod (of Idumæan origin) at the Imperial Court was sufficient to protect the Jews of Rome during the greater part of Claudius' reign (41-54).

[4] Acts xviii. 2. "Judæos impulsore Chresto adsidue tumultuantes . . . . . Roma expulit" (Svet. in Claud. XXXV). Herzog (Real-Encykl., s.v. *Claudius*) thinks that the *Chrestus* mentioned in the edict is not Jesus Christ, but some seditious Roman Jew. But the assumption is supposed to be very unlikely.

[5] Renan says: "Aquila and Priscilla are, therefore, the first known members of the Church of Rome. And to think that they have in Rome scarcely a souvenir! Legend, which is always unjust, because it is invariably ruled by political reasons, ousted from the Christian Pantheon the two obscure artisans in order to ascribe the honour of founding the Church of Rome to a more illustrious person, and thus to harmonise more readily with the haughty pretensions which the capital of the Empire, already a Christian city, was then unable to surrender. As far as we are

The decree of banishment was bound to be a terrible blow to the rising church; still, the blow appears not to have been fatal, for, seven years later, Paul was able to write to the Christians of Rome: "Your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world." Moreover, in the very letter which contains this magnificent eulogium, we find the interesting physiognomy of the Roman church outlined. Professor F. Godet, in his classical *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,* has shown that the church of Rome was composed of a minority of Christians converted from Judaism who had not yet completely freed themselves from the law of Moses and the traditional rites of their fathers, and of a majority of believers from the ranks of heathenism. This means that the church, born and nurtured in the bosom of the Synagogue, afterwards left the Judaic trenches to attack vigorously the heathen encampments.

What remains is too well known. In the spring of 62 the church was visited by the Apostle Paul,

concerned, we believe that the place where western Christianity was born, was not the theatrical basilica dedicated to St. Peter, but the old Ghetto of Porta Portese. . . . And instead of those proud umbrageous basilicas, would it not be much better to erect a poor chapel to the memory of the two good Jews from Pontus, who were expelled by the police of Claudius because they were followers of Christ?"—*Saint Paul,* p. 112.

who for two years remained in Rome as a prisoner, still enjoying, however, great freedom of action. About the end of 63, or at the beginning of 64, Peter also was in Rome. The evidence relating to this sojourn of Peter in Rome is too positive to be discarded by impartial criticism;[6] but his sojourn lasted only a few months; at the most till August, 64, when the apostle fell a victim to the Neronian persecution.

*

* *

The Christian community of Rome, at the dawn of its ecclesiastical life, had no bishop. It was a church represented by a council of elders. When Paul wrote his great letter to this church in 59, although she was already so far developed as to attract the attention of all and to possess ecclesiastical offices more or less organised,[7] yet she had no bishop; nor had she a bishop until fifty years later, when the Roman community sent their words of advice and exhortation to the community of Corinth through Clement.[8] The letter of Ignatius

[6] Clement of Rome (d. 101), Clement of Alexandria (d. 220), St. Dionysius of Corinth (d. 165), the Muratorian Fragment (ab. 170 or 180), Irenæus (d. 202), Tertullian (d. 218), and Gaius (d. 200).

[7] Romans i. 1, 6 and xii. 4, 9.

[8] A.D. 91 or 100 (uncert.); Clem. of Rome; 1 Corinthians 1 and 44, etc.

to the Romans [9] and the first revelations of Hermas,[10] contained in the *Shepherd,* show that under the reign of Trajan [11] and in the first years of the reign of Hadrian [12] the church of Rome was still governed by presbyteral rule. It is only about the middle of the second century that the Roman ecclesiastical government was changed. Anicetus,[13] by that time, was already ruling the church with an authority altogether episcopal. And it is at this point that we approach a crisis of the greatest historical importance. In the days of Anicetus, Polycarp, the aged Bishop of Smyrna, came to Rome to confer with the Roman bishop as to the proper time for keeping Easter.[14] The discussion did not lead to a perfectly mutual understanding; the Bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Smyrna held fast to their own individual rights, but fraternally partook of the Holy Communion. The reciprocal autonomy of the churches of Rome on

[9] Ignatius (d. ab. 112).

[10] ab. 142. [11] 98-117. [12] 117-138. [13] 157-168.

[14] Polycarp and the churches of Asia, following the example of St. John, kept the day of the Crucifixion on Nisan 14, irrespective of the day of the week. Anicetus, on the other hand, with his predecessors and the churches of the West, always observed Friday as the anniversary of the Crucifixion, and Sunday as that of the Resurrection. Each could quote high authority and abundant precedent for their respective views, and neither the Bishop of Rome nor the Bishop of Smyrna felt justified in altering a custom which had been handed down by the traditions of their fathers.

one side, and of the churches of Asia, which Polycarp represented, on the other, was acknowledged and accepted.[15] Now, if all this proves that the Asian churches were greatly concerned with the fellowship of the churches of Rome, it proves also that by that time the most perfect equality reigned among the bishops. Half a century later, the same discussion arose again. Victor,[16] however, did not act as Anicetus had done; he abruptly ended the controversy by an act of authority; excommunicated and declared heretical all the churches of Asia or of any other region that in this question of the date of Easter had not followed the Roman practice. This happened in the year 194; a momentous year, because it was by that imperious edict that Papacy was brought to life. Auguste Sabatier has well said: "From the days in which Victor speaks as a universal bishop and proclaims heretical the churches resisting his authority, nothing more is to be done. The token of truth is no longer in doctrine, but in the external attitude one takes before Rome. To be subject to her, is to be orthodox; to be severed from her, is to be heretical."

So, the church of Rome, which down to the reign

[15] Irenæus relates this fact in a letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome, preserved by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 24. [16] 190-202.

of Hadrian [17] had had no bishop properly so called, accepted a papistic bishop in the year 194; a bishop who imposed himself on the community, and became the synthesis of the whole community. Therefore, as A. Sabatier says, "owing to the plurality of bishops who thus became the heads of the various churches, the fatal law of inexorable logic necessitated the creation of the bishop of bishops, the synthesis of episcopacy and the soul of catholicity. In order the better to assimilate episcopacy with the apostolate, Peter was thrust by force into the series of bishops, as first link of the mystical chain; the link on which all the chain depended. Exegesis did not refuse its co-operation in the work of erecting the papal edifice; and it was in the days of Victor and Callistus [18] that the *Tu es Petrus* [19] was for the first time applied by the Roman exegesis to the successors of Peter." Then, as we shall see, came Constantine,[20] his famous donation and the forged Decretals of Isidore,[21] "the two magic columns, as Gibbon says, of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the Popes." Finally, under the pontificate of Gregory

[17] 117-138. [18] Victor, 190-202. Callistus, 219-222.
[19] Matthew xvi. 18, 19. [20] 312-337.
[21] Constantine's donation is understood to be the grant of the town and the neighbouring territories of Rome which he is supposed to have made to Pope Sylvester. The latter is believed to be the Pope who baptised the emperor and cured him of leprosy.

VII,[22] the idea of infallibility began to appear; and this idea, treated for the first time as an article of Catholic theology by Thomas Aquinas,[23] became a dogma on the 18th of July, 1870, when, in the very Church for which a God had made Himself man, a man had the impudence to proclaim himself god.

But let us not anticipate events.

The modern apologists of Roman Catholicism explain this evolution (as they are very fond of calling it), which started from the democratic presbyteral council of the apostolic times and ended in the absolute sovereignty of the infallible Pope of 1870, by the germ-theory; and have for their

That grant should, therefore, be considered as the nucleus of the "States of the Church." To strengthen the power of the Church a series of documents were put forward toward the middle of the ninth century, claiming to be the official letters (Decretals) of some of the earlier bishops of Rome,—beginning with Clement as successor of Peter,—which asserted and emphasised the supreme jurisdiction of the Church, and of the Pope as Head of the Church, over all secular authority. These were added to the recognised collection of Canons and Acts of Councils compiled by Isidore of Seville, and are known as the *Forged Decretals of Isidore*. Their genuineness—especially that of the donation of Constantine—was attacked by Laurentius Valla in 1441; they were more thoroughly criticised by Erasmus, about 1530; and their authenticity is considered to have been finally disproved by the *Magdeburg Centuriators*, a group of Protestant scholars and Church historians, about 1580. Roman Catholic historians, while acknowledging the forgery, plead the circumstances which doubtless justified the authors in their own eyes.

[22] 1073-1085. [23] 1226-1274.

patron saint Cardinal Newman, whom they consider as the Darwin of Church history. But we must not distort words, or deceive ourselves as to the true meaning of facts. An institution which, beginning with the purest spirituality, ends in the grossest formalism; which, beginning in a free Christian spirit, ends in the most merciless tyranny; which, beginning with the idea of being a means for the triumph of the Kingdom of God in the world, ends by becoming itself a worldly kingdom and by coveting the homage of royalties even if those royalties be infidels and if their hands be stained with Christian blood, surely cannot be considered an institution which has passed through a normal and healthy evolution; it is a corrupt institution; an institution issued from the hands of God, yes, but dragged by its own ambition to abase itself in the world.

*
* *

Is it possible that all this degenerating process could pass unobserved, without arousing in the bosom of the Church herself some cries of protest? Cries of protest were heard, but they were impotent to stop the current of worldliness and the thirst for dominion that had invaded the Church.

It might be most interesting to try and catch the impressions produced by the rise of Papacy in other churches than that of Rome. For instance: The famous *Tu es Petrus* already referred to did not assume the meaning and the dogmatic importance that the theologians of Papacy have ascribed to it, until the third century; when the bishops of Rome were in need of it to uphold their rising pretensions. But against such an exegesis inspired by polity, Tertullian[24] lifted high his voice to assert that these words of Jesus and the privilege that they implied had reference only to the person of Peter; so that the Roman bishops had no right whatever to apply them to themselves and to their See.[25] More freely still and with less polemic intention than Tertullian, Origen[26] declared that the promise was not made by Jesus to the person of Peter, who a little further on is called Satan, but to that very faith of which at that moment Peter was the mouthpiece, and on which the Church is grounded.[27]

The whole third century is full of conflicts created by the haughty pretensions of the bishops of Rome. Let me only mention the most important

[24] 160-230.

[25] "Domini intentionem hoc personaliter Petro conferentem."—*De Pudic.*, XXI.

[26] d. 254.

[27] Commentary on Matthew xvi. 18.

and most symptomatic of them: I mean the conflict that broke out about the middle of the century between Stephen of Rome [28] and Cyprian of Carthage,[29] on account of the baptism of heretics.[30] Cyprian would have liked a peaceful and amicable solution of the difficulty. Stephen, instead, insisted on imposing his own solution by virtue of his prerogative as successor of Peter, and threatened with excommunication all those who dared to refuse it. Cyprian defined Stephen's behaviour as intolerable abuse. Two Councils held at Carthage [31] took Cyprian's side. The larger number of the Eastern bishops, with Dionysius of Alexandria at their head, arrayed themselves against Stephen. It was a regular insurrection of almost the whole episcopacy, in defence of their rights and of their independence so openly menaced by Rome.

But we must not allow ourselves to be distracted by fascinating Africa; it is in the West that we must remain, and especially in Italy, in order to catch the cries of protest that were heard com-

[28] 253 or 257. [29] d. 258.

[30] When a heretic was converted, the Roman Church regarded his previous baptism as valid, and admitted him into membership by simple confirmation, or laying on of hands. On the other hand, in the churches of Asia, previous heretical baptism was ignored, and a convert was required to undergo baptism anew. This also was the custom of the North African churches.

[31] 254 and 256.

ing not from the outside, but from the very bosom of the Church. Here we have to stay until the breaking out of the Protestant revolution which, in the history of Christianity, made the sixteenth century so memorable.

The first cry of protest recorded in history is the cry of a layman against the evils of the Church, and was uttered in the very middle of the second century. It is the cry of Hermas, whose *Shepherd,* read at first in the churches and afterwards placed as an appendix to the Sacred Volume, nearly found its way into the Christian Canon. It has been called the *Pilgrim's Progress* of the second century; but that is an exaggeration; because if the *Shepherd* and the *Pilgrim's Progress* are somewhat alike in their general features, they differ as far as the spirit and the correctness of doctrine are concerned. In this their diversity is to be found the reason for the fact that the fame and the popularity of the *Shepherd* did not and will not last as long as that of Bunyan's inspired work. Notwithstanding this, Hermas' protesting cry has great value. Towards the middle of the second century Papacy was not yet born; but the abuses had already begun. As the *Shepherd* says: "Customs have become worldly; discipline is relaxed; the Church is a sickly old woman in-

capable of standing on her feet; rulers and ruled are all languishing, and many among them are corrupt, covetous, greedy, hypocritical, contentious, slanderers, blasphemers, libertines, spies, renegades, schismatics. Worthy teachers are not wanting, but there are also many false prophets, vain, eager after the first seats, for whom the greatest thing in life is not the practice of piety and justice, but the strife for the post of command. Now the day of wrath is at hand; the punishment will be dreadful; the Lord will give unto every one according to his works"! Hermas, therefore, in the spirit of one of the prophets of old, exhorts the Church to repentance; and in sparkling, apocalyptic language gives to his readers the vision of the Church of his heart, which is like a tower that God has built, and whose founder, corner-stone, and door is Christ.

Such, says E. Comba, is the mystic and awful protest of Hermas; the cry of a man who, removed not more than half a century from the death of the last of the apostles, seems to be more a forerunner of monastic asceticism than one who carried on the apostolic work; nevertheless it is the cry of an honest man which was bound to echo in a Church already so convulsed and harassed.

The voice of the layman Hermas was followed,

half a century later, by the voice of a churchman: Hippolytus.[32] Was he simply an elder or a bishop? a Pope or an Antipope? an excommunicated man or a martyr? All this has been asked. We shall not occupy ourselves with a search for the best answers to these queries; what is really of importance to us here are the following facts, which by several means[33] we have been able to ascertain: That he lived in Rome under Zephyrinus[34] and Callistus,[35] and that he lashed Zephyrinus, whom he described as "a weak and venal fool,"[36] and especially Callistus, whom he speaks of as "a cheat," "a sacrilegious swindler, an infamous convict, and an arch-heretic *ex cathedra.*"[37] And he was perfectly right. Callistus was a wicked and corrupt man; so ambitious and unscrupulous that he bargained with heretics and renegades for his election to the episcopal See. He was the first to restrict to the Roman See the power of forgiving all kinds of sins;[38] and he exercised this power

[32] 198-236.

[33] In 1842 a MS. of his *Philosophumena,* or a *Refutation of all the Heresies,* was discovered on Mount Athos. The first of the ten books of these *Philosophumena* had long been printed together with the works of Origen. In 1551 a fine statue of Hippolytus was dug up in Via Tiburtina, Rome, which represents the venerable man clad in a toga and pallium and seated on a bishop's chair, on the back of which is engraved a list of his writings.

[34] 202-217. [35] 217-222. [36] *Philosoph.,* p. 278.

[37] *Newman Tracts,* p. 222 (1874). [38] *Philosoph.,* IX, 12.

largely not in order to increase but to weaken evangelical discipline and to make the Church a slave to episcopacy. He used to liken the Church to the Ark of Noah, containing all sorts of animals, clean and unclean, dogs and wolves included. Anxious not to lose the support of the clergy, he granted them all sorts of iniquitous concessions; and in order to keep the favour of the Patricians, he went so far as to tolerate shamelessly their concubinage.

When we think of these spiritual and moral conditions of the Church, we feel as in a dream. Who would ever believe that such were the conditions of a period removed scarcely a century from the golden age of Christian piety? If the Church, led by men such as Zephyrinus and Callistus, did not perish miserably, it was not because men did not do their best to dishonour and kill her, but because God saved her with His mighty hand. And is it to be wondered at if the voice of Hippolytus thundered in the midst of such moral disorder? if he pitilessly unmasked Callistus, brought to light his perfidy, and called him a sorcerer on account of his art of seducing souls, and an impostor on account of his false doctrines? Hippolytus called in question the authority and the primacy of all bishops of that kind and denied the legit-

imacy of the impious dualism: the moral character of a man and the office entrusted to him. The Church, he said, is not an Ark containing all kinds of animals; it is a ship, if you like; but a ship having Christ as pilot and the cross as the ensign; or, if you prefer to call her an edifice, you must remember that Christ, and no one else but Christ, is her corner-stone.

Hippolytus was worsted; but the Christians of Rome never forgot his name; they blessed his memory; they piously kept his remains and erected a chapel, as a memorial, where the people used to go regularly to pray.[39]

If men of God such as Hippolytus, who without leaving the Church thundered against the abuses of the Roman bishops, had succeeded, Christianity would have been spared many troubles, and the Kingdom of God would have continued more speedily its triumphal march. But, alas, the period between 150 and 250 was decisive in the growth of sacerdotalism and of the papal spirit, and nothing could stop the Church in her fatal descent. Persecutions had so far checked the corruption of faith and of customs, but did not lead the

[39] The crypt where the remains of Hippolytus were laid was discovered recently in Via Tiburtina, opposite the Church of San Lorenzo. *Vide* de Rossi: *Bullett.*, 1882, p. 56, and 1883 *passim*. His statue was discovered on the same site in 1551 (*vide* n. 33).

Church back to her original purity and simplicity; and it was just at the end of the two awful years during which Decius scourged the Church almost to death by his persecution, that the first schisms broke out. These are the link between the individual protests and the heresies properly so called.

Rome, at that time, had in her midst the Novatians, whose leader, Novatianus, was the preacher of "the old severity of customs" as the only remedy against the evils of general apostasy, and the apostle of a Church composed entirely of "Catharists," namely "puritans."[40] Novatianus, like Montanus[41] in the East, was a man animated by the best of intentions; but as both went beyond the limits of reasonableness, they yielded themselves to the exaggerations of reaction, and knew not how to keep their own faith pure from defilement. They failed to produce in

[40] They held that the other churches had fallen off, and baptised again those who joined their church, for they did not recognise the baptism of the Roman Catholic Church as valid. They also regarded as impure all those who partook of communion with the *lapsi*, that is, with those who had recanted in order to avoid torture.

[41] The Montanistic sect arose a few years after the death of Hippolytus (d. 236). It was an outbreak of the spiritualistic fervour which cut adrift, like Quakerism or Methodism, from the formalities of the Church, and claimed to be a new dispensation, under the immediate guidance of the Holy Ghost. It was, as Baur explains, a sort of Gnosticism reversed.

the Church the effect they had in view, and which it would have been a great blessing had they been able to attain. Add to all this the incessant attempts of the heretical sects who tried their best to revive either Judaism or Paganism in the bosom of the Church, which had dominated but not altogether subdued them; add, that is to say, the deleterious working of the Nazarenes and of the Ebionites, who had gone back completely into Judaism, and after having denied the divinity of Christ had set themselves up as a special sect; add the working of Valentinus [42] and the Gnostics, who, inspired by the Oriental gnosis, introduced, secretly at first and then openly, the dualistic theories into the new Manichæan form which they adopted; add the Unitarian heresy [43] which had existed in Rome since the end of the second century, and you will have an idea of the conditions of the Church at the end of her second period.

It was about the middle of the third century that the Church found herself in a most critical condition, torn by all kinds of hypocrisies, ambitions, and internal strifes. Gallienus,[44] the son

[42] Valentinus was in Rome from 140 to 160.

[43] The Unitarian heresy was represented in Rome (about the end of the second century) by Theodotus, the Currier, and by a second Theodotus, the Money Changer, one of his disciples.

[44] 260-268.

of Valerian, reversing his father's policy, had practically granted toleration to the Christians; and for about forty years after this, the Church enjoyed an almost unbroken rest. But rest, when not consecrated to God and to the Cause of God, is as dangerous to the life of individuals as to the life of the churches; the Evil One is sure to make use of it for his own purposes; then the persecution of Diocletian, the last and most formidable of all persecutions, not excepting that of Decius, broke out;[45] and with this persecution we are led to the age of Constantine; to the age in which the Roman Empire, from being the enemy and persecutor of the Church, became her protector and patron. The Church entered into an alliance with the State, which was to prove so fruitful of consequences in the subsequent history of Europe, both for good and evil, but more for evil than for good.

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When Christianity became the religion of the Empire,[46] it became also the fashion of a luxurious

[45] 284-305.

[46] Christianity was declared the religion of the Empire by Constantine, in the year 324. From this time (excepting the short reign of Julian) it continued to be the State religion as long as the Empire existed. The Empire was divided at the death of

and decaying society. That was in the era from Constantine to Gregory I;[47] an era of great decline for the Church; and the decline was more evident in Rome than anywhere else. "Christianity in Rome," says Gregorovius,[48] "became in a very short time corrupt; and this is not to be wondered at, because the ground in which the seed of its doctrines had been sown was rotten and the least apt of all other grounds in the world to bring forth good fruit. . . . The Roman character had not been changed from what it was of old, because baptism cannot change the spirit of the times." Christian piety, that had made the first classical period of the faith so glorious and which, in the second period, had gone through so many vicissitudes, grew in this third period into a formal and churchly piety without any moral effect whatever on the life of individuals and of the community. Conversion became nothing but a round of ceremonies and perfunctory duties. Many believed that by almsgiving and by partaking of the Communion they might atone for sinful lives. Baptism became an easy means of rescue

Theodosius (395) into the Eastern (or Greek) and Western (or Latin) Empires. The Eastern Empire lasted until 1453, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks. The Western Empire perished in 476.

[47] 313-590.

[48] *Storia della città di Roma nel Medio Evo*, Vol. I, p. 155.

from perdition, and hence many deferred to receive it until frightened by the approach of death. Christianity in a short time became the religion of the rich and powerful; and as soon as that was the case, the desire to set up a severe simplicity against the splendour of pagan temples was less felt and the primitive aversion to art in worship began to pass away. Churches of more imposing proportions and more costly furnishings were erected. Pictures, especially those representing Bible scenes, were generally adopted in the churches, and towards the end of the fourth century the use of images had already become prevalent. People began to prostrate themselves before them, and many of the more ignorant to worship them. The adoration of Mary became general; and whilst baptism, with the addition of supplementary rites, lost its original simplicity, the Lord's Supper became a sacrificial offering by the Christian priests. Therefore it was quite natural that as the Lord's Supper was little by little losing its primitive character of a simple commemoration of the death of Christ and becoming a sacrifice, the ancient presbyter should also little by little transform himself into a priest.

The era from Gregory I to Charlemagne was the era of the founding of the Church among the

English and the Germans; a period of political and ecclesiastical disorder, out of which the papal power emerged with added strength. The Pope who mostly contributed to such a result was Gregory I,[49] a really great man, considering the time of extreme spiritual and moral desolation in which he lived. Those were times eminently propitious for the new triumphs of the Roman See. So much so that Gregory, ruling as a true dictator in Rome, was the first Pope to see the peoples of the West humbly gathered round the apostolic See.

The era from Charlemagne to Gregory VII[50] was one in which the Tree of Christianity stretched out its branches and gathered in its shade the peoples of the north and east of Europe. During that period a movement of no little importance took place. The civil and the ecclesiastical power had at that time only one ideal; namely, to secure the primacy; and the primacy was doomed to fall into the hands of Papacy, to whose help came fraud and falsehood. Charlemagne, in fact, who was conscious of being the protector and defender of the Church and of her members, received the oaths of allegiance from the Popes and admonished them as to their duty even in matters of doctrine. But when Charlemagne died in 814 and his empire was

[49] 590-604. [50] 800-1073.

broken up by warring factions, the Popes improved every opportunity afforded them by the disorders of the times, to make themselves more independent. The movement of the whole age was toward papal ascendency; and so as to assert the superiority of the Church over the State and to crown Papacy with the aureola of temporal power, the fictions of Constantine's donation and the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals were brought forward. On the 22d of April, 1073, Hildebrand, later known as Pope Gregory VII, the restorer and upholder of the Decretal system and the founder of papal authority, was suddenly called to ascend the pontifical throne amid the acclamations of the clergy and people.

The period from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII[51] is too well known for me to spend many words on it. It was the period of the full sway of Papacy in Western countries; the period of celibacy and investiture, of the Crusades, of the bloodthirsty Inquisition,[52] the period in which the

[51] 1073-1294.

[52] The papal legates had long before been invested with inquisitorial powers to crush heresy. Bishops were especially charged in 1215 by the Fourth Lateran Council to ferret out and punish heretics or to appoint agents for the purpose. In 1229 the Council of Toulouse more thoroughly reorganised this episcopal inquisition. In 1232 and 1233 the work was entrusted to monks of the Dominican order.

Church, intoxicated with the spirit of earthly dominion, almost completely forgot the Kingdom and righteousness of God. With Boniface VIII Papacy found itself on the decline; and whilst the dawn of modern times was breaking, the need of reform began to be felt.

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Now, in the midst of such spiritual and moral deviation of the Papacy, the clergy, and the whole laity from truth and right, is it possible that not one word of protest was heard in Italy during almost ten centuries of the restless, turbulent, spasmodic, and abnormal life of the Church?

Already at the end of the fourth century two powerful voices were raised; that of Jovinian,[53] who thundered against the idea of the Church being an assemblage of baptised beings instead of a body of faithful followers of Jesus Christ, and who also denounced meritorious works and compulsory celibacy; and that of Vigilantius [54] against compulsory celibacy, the worshipping of martyrs, and pilgrimages. Later on, in the first half of

[53] Jovinian was, according to some, a Roman; according to others, a Milanese. He died about 406.

[54] Vigilantius was born in 364 in the small village called, in old times, Calagorris, and to-day Houra, in the Comminges District, in Gascony.

the ninth century, the voice of Claudius of Turin [55] was heard, condemning the worshipping of images and of the cross; and in the tenth century Ratherius of Verona [56] denounced idolatry, bitterly reproved the immorality of the clergy and the negligence of the bishops, and tried to remind the priesthood, who were stupefied by vice and ignorance, that "God is a spirit and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth." But what could he do when, at Verona, after having preached on the spirituality of God, many of his clergy protested, saying: "What is then to be done? We thought we knew something about God, but God is nothing at all if He has not a head"? [57]

But, alas, these sporadic protesting voices, in the midst of those times of such a complete decline, became more and more feeble. One would have thought that the Church was altogether beyond any possibility of reform, and that she was doomed to fall in ruins on the judgment day when God was expected to punish the world. That terrible day was thought to be at hand. The rumour was more and more insistently circulated that the first hour of the year 1000 would be the last for the world. But neither was the world destined to crumble

[55] d. 839. [56] ab. 890-974.
[57] Ratherius: *Serm.* 1, "De Quadragesima."

away nor was Christianity to remain without reform; and the individual protests which we have already mentioned were soon followed by a new sequence of reaction, which we shall call: Mediæval reaction.

During the great struggles between Papacy and the Empire, between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, Arnold of Brescia [58] for nine years led a Republic in Rome in open defiance of Emperor and Pope. The populace of Rome had broken out in rebellion against Pope Lucius II,[59] who was stoned to death, and they kept his successor, Eugene II, a monk of Bernard's own training, in perpetual exile. Arnold, who had been a disciple of Abelard, began to preach a free Gospel, to denounce priestly vices, and to proclaim that the clergy must give back all property and secular dominion to the State and return to the simplicity enjoined by the Gospel and practised by its first ministers. His religious fervour developed into political enthusiasm, which kindled town after town of his native Lombardy and carried him on a wave of popular triumph to his brief rule in Rome. But betrayed into the hands of Frederick Barbarossa and delivered over to Adrian IV, as part of a new compact of alliance, he was first strangled as a rebel, then burned

[58] 1100-1155. [59] 1145.

as a heretic; and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest anything that had been his should be kept as a sacred relic among the people. Thus vanished the martyr; but his ideal did not vanish. It remained, as we shall see, and inspired, later, many other vigorous protests.

The Catharists, whom the populace in Lombardy used to call Patarenes,[60] appeared in Piedmont at the beginning of the eleventh century.[61] They were not free from doctrinal errors, but, as much as we know of them, by the purity of their lives, by their self-denial, their humility, their love for the New Testament, by the simplicity of their worship, and their abhorrence of sacred images, and by their missionary zeal, they made an energetic protest against Rome. They spread all over Italy, from Piedmont to the far end of Sicily; and when they disappeared, about the fourteenth century, exterminated by persecution in that very Piedmont where they had first commenced their

[60] During the time of Gregory VII (1073-85), a handful of the lowest class of the inhabitants of Milan, led by a fanatic called Arialdo, rose to protest against the papal innovations, especially against investitures and the celibacy of the clergy. These insurgents were called *Patarenes*, which in the Milanese dialect means *hawkers*, or because they dwelt in a wretched quarter of the town called *Pataria*. When the Catharists (or *puritans*) first appeared in Lombardy, they were immediately called *Patarenes* by the people.

[61] About 1028.

work, they left their protest to the Waldenses as an inheritance.

Of the Waldenses we shall speak in a special chapter; but here, if only by the way, mention must be made of the great monastic movement which was so momentous at the time which we have now been led to by our study. Monasticism, which appeared in the East through Paconius [62] and Basil,[63] had already, as early as the time of Athanasius and Augustine,[64] greatly affected the imagination of Western Europe; but only in the sixth century did it find in Benedict of Norcia [65] a powerful and intelligent organiser. Monasticism, in the East, had been essentially ascetic; in the West, with Benedict, it became more practical, more active, more human, although still with a limited horizon. Benedict, who died in prayer beside his own grave which he had prepared for himself, shows us in the most vivid manner the nature of his monastic ideal. But from the thirteenth century onwards, the monastic institutions assumed a different aspect, through the appearance of the so-called Mendicant Orders. The Dominicans and the Franciscans came out of their life of meditation and prayer and tried to re-awaken in the mind of all

[62] d. 348. [63] d. 379.

[64] Athanasius (d. 373); Augustine (354-430).

[65] 480-543.

the idea of the Church as a religious institution at a time when, for so long, it had been nothing else but a political instrument in the hands of princes. The Dominicans, defenders of the faith, founded the Inquisition; the Franciscans revealed to the people the mysticism of Christianity as they understood it; and, through the creation of the Tertiaries, put monastic piety within reach of all members of the Church. They were true, faithful servants of Rome; notwithstanding that, they had their share in shaking the very foundations of the Roman system, inasmuch as they insisted on the fact that true piety consists more in life than in forms, and opposed their simple, sober virtues to the pomp, ignorance, and ambition of the great dignitaries of the Church.

How it happened that by their rivalries and internal quarrels, by their proscribing all that might have helped them in their intellectual development and scientific progress, they in their turn fell short of what might have been expected from them, is not for us to question here. We must not pass on, however, without touching on the two great personalities of St. Dominic[66] and of St. Francis.[67] Both were great men; they were very different from each other; and there is

[66] d. 1221. [67] d. 1226.

no doubt that, of the two, St. Francis was by far the more attractive and prepossessing. "There was no magnetic power of love in Dominic to draw men to him, even while zeal and goodness directed his labours," says Professor Herkless;[68] "he lacked the one thing needful, whatever it was, which Francis had, to make captive the heart." Nevertheless it is a fact that in an age when the people were ignorant of the Bible, when the priests of the Church were dumb, he trained men to preach, and he himself preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and if Dominicans went beyond the limits when they tried to suffocate the heretics in blood by means of the Inquisition, "the founder of their Order was wise when he taught them that heresy must be met by learning and educated wisdom, and was strong when he organised a company of men well trained in theology and sent them forth to meet the critics and enemies of the Church."[69] "St. Francis," says Sabatier, "was *par excellence* the saint of the Middle Ages. Owing nothing either to the Church or to the School, he was truly a theodidacte. . . . If we search for the origin of his ideas, we shall find it absolutely

[68] *Francis and Dominic and the Mendicant Orders*, by John Herkless, D.D.

[69] John Herkless, D.D.: *Ibid.*

among the people of his time; and it is just on account of this, that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, he incarnates the Italian soul just as Dante incarnates it a century later. He was of the people, and the people recognised themselves in him. He possessed their poetry, their inspirations; the claims of the people he made his own claims. . . . As far as his attitude before the Church is concerned, it was the attitude of an obedient son. This may sound strange, speaking as we do of a preacher who had not been sent, but who was speaking to the world in the name of his own personal and immediate inspiration. . . . But for men like St. Francis the Church was what our fatherland is for us; we may wish to overturn the government, to upset the administration, to change the Constitution; yet, in spite of all this, we do not believe ourselves to be in the least less loyal to our country. In like manner, in those ages of a faith so naïve, when religious beliefs seemed to be rooted in the very flesh of humanity, Dante could attack the clergy and the Roman Court with violence such as has never been surpassed, and at the same time remain a good Catholic. St. Francis so strongly believed that the Church had been untrue to her calling, that in his symbolic language he spoke

of the widowhood of his Dame Poverty, who, from Christ to his own time, had not found a bridegroom. How could he better have declared his projects and made others divine his dreams? What he wanted was far more than the foundation of an Order. We wrong him when we so restrict his attempt. He wanted a true revival of the Church in the name of that evangelical ideal which he had found anew."[70]

Among the voices which in the bosom of the Church were raised to protest against the abuses of Papacy and to unmask the vices of the clergy, we have to record the creator of the great Italian national poetry (whom I have already alluded to in quoting Sabatier): Dante Alighieri,[71] I mean, the "voice of ten silent centuries," the poet who sings us "his mystic unfathomable song."[72] To his divine Poem Italians have had recourse in all times, when, crushed by political or spiritual tyranny, they longed for an inspired word of courage, of concord, of trust in their own spurned dignity or in the coming unity of their own beloved country.

With Dante, Francesco Petrarca[73] may be

[70] Paul Sabatier: *Vie de S. François d'Assise* (Introduction).
[71] 1265-1321.
[72] Tieck, quoted by Carlyle in *Lectures on Heroes*, "The hero as poet—Dante."
[73] 1304-1374.

recorded; he was inferior to Dante as a poet and as a man of character, but he also protested against Rome. His indignation may not always have burst from the deep anguish of his heart; it was more often a kind of academic indignation poured forth in magniloquent Latin prose or in most elegant, harmonious sonnets; but still, he too, when necessary, knew how to be terrible; as when he called the See of the Popes:

> "A school of errors, a temple of heresy;
> Rome, once; now false, wicked Babylon,
> Hell of the living . . . . . ." [74]

However, all those cries of denunciation against Papacy and the clergy had not yet been able to find their way into the conscience of the people; but the subtle and biting raillery with which Giovanni Boccaccio,[75] the maker of Italian prose, scourged to death the vices and the scandalous life of the priests, of the friars, and of the nuns of his time, quickly and most effectively reached

[74] Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira,
Scola d'errori, e tempio d'eresia;
Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria,
Per cui tanto si piagne e si sospira:
O fucina d'inganni, o prigion d'ira,
Ove'l ben more, e'l mal si nutre e cria;
Di vivi inferno; un gran miracol fia
Se Cristo teco al fine non s'adira.

[75] 1313-1375.

the popular conscience. Raillery was the mightiest weapon that could be used to hasten the fall of that spiritual power which, trusting in the strength of princes, had for centuries caused humanity to weep and to moan. And no man, with the exception perhaps of Aristophanes, ever knew how to make use of the ridiculous, with better skill than did Boccaccio. So, in those classical times when humanity was coming out of the terrors of the Middle Ages, and Dante, by setting reason and science against religious authority, was giving the signal of a great revolution, the dissolute life of the clergy, and the sharp raillery of the merry story-teller, completed the work by making the way smooth for Martin Luther and his great reformation.

II

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION AND ITS ECHO IN ITALY

II

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION AND ITS ECHO IN ITALY

DANTE ALIGHIERI is rightly considered still a man of the Middle Ages; but with Francesco Petrarca, whom Pasquale Villari has called "the first modern man," we are already in the Renaissance; in the time of the revival of ancient classical influences which took its rise in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which moved the whole of Europe. This Renaissance gave, in the fifteenth century, a last and fatal blow to the religious belief which, at the end of the Middle Ages, and referred to in the previous chapter, we had left in a dying condition.

When the Mohammedans began to occupy the cities of the Greek Empire, especially after Mohammed II had taken Constantinople, many learned men who preferred exile to subjection to those conquerors came to Italy, bringing with them a quantity of old manuscripts; they settled

down in the principal Academies, and were at once surrounded by a crowd of literati. The fifteenth was a century of great decline in Italian literature and art; and the more intellectual minds, eager to preserve both literature and art, saw no other way of doing so than by going back to the ancient classics. In consequence, during that century, the want of originality was as great as the want of belief. Many went to excess, and were possessed by a frenzy for servile imitation. "It looked as if Italians," says Pasquale Villari, "did not wish so much to imitate the old world as to summon it from its grave and make it live again; in so doing they felt they were coming back to themselves, and entering, as it were, into a second life: a regeneration. . . . They worked, therefore, with unremitting energy, but, in doing so, their religious sentiment vanished, their moral sense got weaker and weaker, and the worship of form grew in them to the detriment of substance; a failing, which we see reappearing for centuries in Italian literature. . . . When the historian considers such wonderful intellectual activity which reproduces itself in a thousand different forms, always growing richer and more brilliant, and at the same time always followed by evident moral decline, he feels dismayed, as if in the presence of a mys-

terious contradiction pregnant of future woe. When the evil that inwardly torments this people comes to the surface, a terrible catastrophe is inevitable." [1]

The mysterious contradiction alluded to by Pasquale Villari will not escape the notice of the investigator of this period. The Renaissance found faithful disciples among the heads of the clergy, and " erudition itself," says Villari,[2] " ascended the cathedra of Peter, with Pope Nicholas V." [3] These ecclesiastics used to meet in the Vatican, in a hall which they themselves called " the Workshop of Lies "; and here the Tuscan Poggio Bracciolini used to entertain the meeting with his obscene " Jests." In the field of art we know that Perugino, the master of Raphael, did not believe in the immortality of the soul; that Leonardo da Vinci, the painter of the " Cenacolo," always doubted the truth of Roman Catholicism; that Titian drew the inspiration for his " Assumption " from the daughters of Pietro Aretino; and that the original of many of Raphael's " Madonne " is to be found in the trivial and lustful figure of the Fornarina. " In the life of the

[1] Pasquale Villari: *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi.* Firenze, 1874. See E. Comba in *Intr. alla St. della Rif. in Italia.*

[2] Pasquale Villari: *Ibid.*

[3] 1447-1455.

artists of that time everything is inconsistent and contradictory," writes Guerzoni. "They spend half their days painting Madonnas and dying Christs, in laying out plans for new churches, in painting frescoes in chapels and convents; and the other half, in leading a debauched life. Their sculptures and their paintings are the glorification of faith; but more often not a spark of faith illuminates their soul. As artists, they are in heaven; as men, they are on earth, and very often in the lowest part of it. No one knows what they believed. There is a partition, a division, a gap in their soul. Between what they do and what they think there is an abyss."[4] At that time the Church of St. Peter was being built in Rome. It was a masterpiece of art, but at the same time it was an absolute negation of genuine Christian sentiment. Edmondo de Amicis, writing his impressions after seeing it, said: "A seducing magnificence, a fascinating splendour, but not an inspiring grandeur. There, one gets the impression more of a theatre than of a church."[5] And Taine, also, when thinking of it, wrote: "Never was a Christian God worshipped in such a pagan way."[6] Paganism triumphed in the field of philosophy

[4] Guerzoni: *Michelangelo credente.* Quoted from E. Comba.
[5] De Amicis: *Impressioni di Roma.* Quoted from E. Comba.
[6] Taine: *Voyage en Italie.*

with Aristotle and Plato; and the triumph of Paganism was followed by the downfall of theology. What chance could theology ever have when, in Rome, the Popes themselves lived a life which was the most shameless insult to Christianity? Nicholas V, who, at the beginning of this age, had been the great patron of the Renaissance, was succeeded by Sixtus IV,[7] who made a market of the Church, filled Italy with blood so as to insure some sovereignty or other for his sons and nephews, kindled the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and caused Giuliano de' Medici [8] to be murdered in Florence at the foot of the altar in the Cathedral, at the moment of the elevation of the Host. Sixtus IV was followed by Innocent VIII,[9] a man simoniacal and greedy, living a life so debauched, that the very name of Innocent which he assumed, made people laugh as if he had intended it as a joke. And Innocent's successor was Alexander VI,[10] the Nero of Papacy; the man who made the whole of Rome shudder for fear of assassination, had but one aim in life: to enrich his numerous family, and, above all, his son Cesare, the most abandoned wretch that ever lived, of whom it has been said: "He gave audience to nobody but to the executioners he employed." So that it is not to be

[7] 1471-1484. [8] 1478. [9] 1484-1492. [10] 1492-1503.

wondered at if Niccolò Machiavelli [11] was led to write the following memorable words: "The nations nearest to the Roman Church, the head of our religion, have the least religion of all. . . . On account of the evil example of the Roman Court, Italy has lost all devotion and religion. . . . We Italians owe, therefore, to the Church and to the priests the fact of our having become irreligious and bad." [12]

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"The pagan revival," says Professor Allen, "had to be followed by a Christian revival, which we term the Reformation, or the last state of mankind would be worse than the first. Culture and refinement can never take the place of the strenuous thing we call Virtue. Whatever we hold to be the source of the Moral Law, of Christianity not as a creed or ceremony but as a spirit and life, it is the only salvation mankind has found as yet from those horrors of ancient society against which its first revelation was made; horrors to which Learning itself may open the door, and Art can only decorate the way." [13]

A first attempt to reform the Church was made

[11] 1469-1527. [12] Machiavelli: *Discorsi,* L. I, C. 12.
[13] J. H. Allen: *Christian History;* 2d vol., "The Middle Age."

by the Church herself; and in this classic year, 1400, three Councils were held, of which history has handed down the record to us by the name of Reform Councils. They are: the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Bâle.

What was their practical result? Here it is summed up in a few words.

The arrogant claims of Boniface VIII soon led to a violent conflict with the French King Philip IV, resulting in the Pope's imprisonment and death.[14] Two years later, a French Cardinal, on being elected Pope as Clement V, removed the Papal Court to Avignon; whence the Babylonian Captivity, which lasted seventy years,[15] and presented the spectacle of two Popes: one at Avignon, the other at Rome.[16] To remove the scandal, the Council of Pisa was convened, which, after condemning the two absent Popes as guilty of heresy, deposed them and appointed a new Pope who assumed the name of Alexander V, an aged monk, who died within a year of his election. Thus the practical result of the Council of Pisa[17] was to leave the Church with three Popes instead of two.

[14] 1303. [15] 1309-1378.

[16] In Rome: Urban VI (1378-1389), then Boniface IX (1389-1404), then Innocent VII (1404-1406), and Gregory XII (1406-1410).

In Avignon: Clement VII (1378-1394), then Benedict XIII (1394-1424).

[17] 1409.

Alexander V was succeeded by a Neapolitan, possessed of political ability and daring, but notorious for many crimes, who assumed the name of John XXIII. This man, impelled by the Emperor Sigismund, summoned the Council of Constance, which sat four years.[18] The whole work of this second Council may be summed up as follows. It condemned 44 propositions from the writings of Wiclif, sentenced John Huss to be burned,[19] condemned Jerome of Prague, who was burned upon the same spot as John Huss, whose zealous and eloquent coadjutor he had been.[20] John XXIII, charged by the Council with the manifold crimes of his life, was deposed and compelled to abdicate. Otto Colonna was chosen as his successor, and took the name of Martin V.[21] "The new Pope," says Professor G. P. Fisher, "soon showed his real attitude towards the reform movement. He sanctioned the abuses on which the Roman Court had flourished during the reign of John XXIII, and before the Council was dissolved, asserted the papal supremacy in terms which contradicted the doctrine of conciliar authority, which had been solemnly promulgated in its fourth and fifth sessions. The members of

[18] 1414-1418. [19] July 6, 1415. [20] May, 1416.
[21] November 11, 1417.

the Council, wearied by their long-continued and apparently futile labours, were in no mood to withstand the schemes or pretensions of the Pope. They satisfied themselves with a decree embodying a few reforms upon which they were all united, and voted to leave the rest to be arranged in concordats with the several nations. The substantial failure of this Council to achieve reforms which thoughtful and good men everywhere deemed indispensable, was a proof that some more radical means of reformation would have to be found." [22]

The last attempt to reform was made during the Papacy of Eugene IV,[23] by the Council of Bâle, which sat ineffectually for eighteen years.[24] The Council was assembled by Martin V, who, however, died on his way to attend it; his successor, Eugene IV, did his best to procure its dissolution. The only act of importance framed by the Council was a compromise with the Hussites.[25] It was crippled by the hostility of the Pope, whom it attempted to depose,[26] but without effect. The Popes showed themselves hostile to the so-called

[22] G. P. Fisher: *History of the Christian Church.*

[23] 1431-1447. [24] 1431-1449.

[25] The use of the cup (calix) by the laity in the Eucharist was granted as a compromise at the Council of Bâle (1433), and is still enjoyed in Bohemia. [26] 1435.

Reform Councils; especially to those of Constance and Bâle; which makes it clear that, personally, they neither wanted the reform of the Church, nor were inclined to allow the Councils to succeed. Did they at least encourage the several men who were doing all in their power to institute reform? Alas, the eloquent answer to this is given by the dying fifteenth century, which witnessed the martyrdom of Girolamo Savonarola.[27] "What is called the irony of history," says Professor Allen, "has no more tragic example than the condemnation of the last great preacher of ecclesiastical righteousness by the most profligate of Popes. Savonarola was tortured, strangled, and burned by sentence of Alexander Borgia. . . . Sacerdotal Christianity was thus fatally dishonoured; but the forces were already in training, which in the next century were to deliver their assault under the new banner of Salvation by Faith."[28]

* * *

So we come to the glorious sixteenth century, during which Italy witnessed romantic epic poetry brought to the height of its lustre by Lodovico

[27] May 23, 1498.

[28] J. H. Allen: *Christian History;* 2d vol., "The Middle Age."

Ariosto;[29] the art of history brought to light by Machiavelli,[30] Guicciardini,[31] and a crowd of other minor men; and the fine arts, painting especially, which were protected by Popes[32] and princes, brought to a height of perfection by the architect Bramante, Raphael, the king of painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, Antonio Allegri da Correggio, and Michelangelo, called "the man with four souls" on account of his being a sculptor, painter, architect, and poet.

But the times were bad. The end of the fifteenth century had seen Italy invaded by foreigners; and the following century saw Italy in the hands of princes[33] who did not maintain the power and dignity of their position but only its name, and who, like Cosimo I at Florence, after having secured for themselves dominion over their States, favoured fine arts and learning solely to make the people completely forget their right to freedom. In the first half of this century the Renaissance,

[29] 1474-1533. [30] 1469-1527. [31] 1483-1540.

[32] Julius II (1503-1513), Leo X (1513-1521), Clement VII (1523-1534), Paul III (1534-1549), Gregory XIII (1572-1585), Sixtus V (1586-1590), Clement VIII (1592-1605).

[33] In Naples and in Sicily, Spain through two viceregents. In Florence, the Medici; in Ferrara, and later on at Modena, the Estensi. In Mantoa, Guastalla and Padua, the Gonzaga. In Urbino, the Montefeltro and the Della Rovere. In Piedmont, Emanuel Filiberto.

as far as literary perfection was concerned, had exerted its influence; but the Italians, unfortunately, derived from it only religious indifference and more unrestrained licentiousness than ever. In the works of Lodovico Ariosto we feel the craving for pleasure; and when he speaks of Christianity, we perceive at once that the poet has it only in his mind; not in his heart, which is empty. In the works of Machiavelli and Guicciardini we find a political ideal which has success principally in view, without any moral consideration. Story-tellers and dissolute poets abounded more than ever at that time. "In spite of all this," says Piero Misciattelli, "the spiritual atmosphere of the Italian sixteenth century, which was permeated with beauty and humanistic thought, had become unfit to breathe for all those who had a soul. The art of Michelangelo, with the sad meditations of his Prophets, with the desperate attitudes of his Prisoners, with the religious melancholy of his statue 'Pietà,' expressed with intensity the unsatisfied feeling and the inward strife of the few souls of his time, who, chained to the earth, eagerly desired heavenly things. The most powerful manifestations of Michelangelo's art are but the cries of a restive genius who tries to free himself from the classical models which the

Renaissance worshipped. Michelangelo was a destroyer of idols. He moved the ocean of Thought. He was a lover of war, not of peace. Vasari, his friend, understood him but little; his disciples, small-minded men, only saw the outward forms of his art; Raphael, a sublime lover of the beautiful, hated him with a hatred full of admiration; the Popes, who were patrons of fine arts, appreciated Michelangelo as a magnificent decorator of their imperial palace; princes snatched him from each other as a builder of mausoleums. Only Vittoria Colonna, with the intuition of her inward eye troubled by religious inquietude, saw the abyss of despair in the soul of the old artist; and for this reason did Michelangelo dedicate to her, in love sonnets, his own spiritual autobiography."[34]

During 1494-1498, Savonarola entirely changed the mental atmosphere of Florence; and this change extended into the field of art and is recorded in the work of several artists. Sandro Botticelli,[35] for instance, after the martyrdom of Savonarola ceased to paint peaceful Greek goddesses and classic myths, and began to paint Madonnas, in whom the joy of the "Magnificat"[36] completely disappeared to give room to the inef-

[34] Piero Misciattelli: *Mistici Senesi;* Chap. VI, "B. Ochino e l'eresia in Siena."

[35] 1444-1510.

[36] Painted about the year 1465.

fable expression of pain of a " Mater Dolorosa ": " not of her beneath the cross, but of a young Mother with the ever-present sword of a foreboding sorrow piercing her heart, with the knowledge of what was to come, of which others around her were ignorant, and in which, therefore, they could offered her no sympathy "; [37] a Madonna, such as only the sermons of Fra Girolamo had had the power to inspire. And in his celebrated picture of " Calumny," now in the Uffizi Gallery of Florence,[38] Botticelli handed down to us, on immortal canvas, the piteous story of Savonarola's martyr-

[37] Colonel G. F. Young, C.B.: *The Medici.*

[38] Steinmann in his *Botticelli* thus describes his famous picture: " The scene is laid in a stately judgment hall in the classic style, on the decoration of which every resource of art has been expended. Between its lofty arches there is a distant view of a calm sea; life-sized marble figures stand in the niches of the pillars of the hall (like the figures outside Orsanmichele), and every vacant space is adorned with richly-gilded sculpture. It is a magnificent Renaissance building, which fancy imagines a place in which wisdom and justice alone would exist, a place of refuge in which poets and thinkers may prepare new intellectual achievements as they walk in this stately portico by the sea. Instead of this we witness a fearful deed of violence. In bitter contrast with the splendid marble all round, in ironical mockery of the solemn statues of justice and virtue on the walls, a noisy throng is dragging the innocent victim of calumny before the tribunal of the Unjust Judge, who sits with crown and sceptre on a richly-decorated throne. Two female figures, Ignorance and Suspicion, whisper in the long ass's ears of the Unjust Judge, while in front of him Envy declaims with imperious force. With his right hand Envy leads Calumny, who holds a burning torch before her as a treacherous symbol of her pretended love of

dom.[39] Thus, towards the decline of the century, while licentiousness in writing seemed to have become more moderate, or at least not so barefaced, the writers appeared more serious and

truth. She dashes impetuously forward, with her left hand grasping mercilessly the hair of her victim, who lies on the ground stripped naked, with his folded hands raised to heaven in assertion of his innocence. Calumny's appearance is plausible and crafty; her clothing is costly, and her two attendants, Fraud and Deception, are busy twining fresh roses in her golden hair. Behind these (as what follows from injustice and cruelty) comes the tormentor Remorse, a hideous hag clothed from head to foot in ragged mourning attire, who, clasping her trembling hands before her, turns her face round over her shoulder, to look at the figure behind her of naked Truth (a slim female figure recalling Botticelli's Venus), who gazes upwards and lifts her right hand to heaven in adjuration against the scene of injustice, cruelty, and wrong." (Quoted from Colonel G. F. Young's *The Medici.*)

[39] See Colonel G. F. Young's *The Medici:* "At first sight this picture repels us by its strange scene of grotesque violence; but it has its meaning in the history of the time. For in this picture Botticelli writes, for those who may come after, the story of how Savonarola was done to death. In the stately Renaissance hall, the refuge for poets and philosophers, with its solemn statues of Wisdom and Justice, and its profuse decoration by Art, Botticelli represents Florence as for sixty years *it had been.* In the Unjust Judge, with his ass's ears, seated on a throne with crown and sceptre which he is not fit to bear, and in the scene of violence enacted in front of him, the painter represents the government of Florence as *it had become;* still occupying the localities where such different sentiments had once prevailed. In the figures of Ignorance and Suspicion, Envy and Calumny, Fraud and Deception, he represents the motives and the methods which had prevailed to put to death their victim, Savonarola. While the figures of Remorse and Truth embody Botticelli's prophecy of what shall afterwards follow."

thoughtful, and here and there some poet did not disdain to choose a Christian subject for his rhymes, until the reawakening of the Moslem wrath against Europe and the subsequent victory of Lepanto [40] kindled anew in many the desire to fight the Crusades over again, and Torquato Tasso [41] was moved to describe "the deliverance of Jerusalem"; Torquato Tasso, who expressed in verse the revival of Christian sentiments and the dejection and sadness of the Italian people, better than any other writer of the sixteenth century.

Meanwhile what were the Popes doing?

Alexander VI, of vile memory, died in 1503. He was succeeded by Pius III, but only for twenty-six days; then succeeded Julius II (1503-1513), an irritable and ambitious Pontiff, a man more fitted for the sword than the tiara, who was Pope only in name and habiliments; he was followed by Leo X,[42] the Medicean Pope, whose love of fine arts, science, luxury, pleasure, hunting, and plays, was only surpassed by his carelessness for religion. During the reigns of Julius II and Leo X a Council was held, known as the fifth Lateran Council.[43] This ought to have answered the cry of ecclesiastics and laymen for the repression of

[40] 1571. [41] 1544-1595. [42] 1513-1521.
[43] Opened in 1512 by Julius II.

the most scandalous abuses, for a barrier to stop the ever-rising torrent of corruption. But alas! the Council, composed of 95 bishops, all Italians, did nothing but annul the decisions of the Council of Pisa,[44] cause the subjects of France to rebel against their King, decree that the soul is immortal (and surely there was much need of it, if, as Francesco de Sanctis has said, Leo X himself was a materialist);[45] and having, or believing that it had nothing else of importance to do, busied itself with the grave matter of the removal of an annual fair from Lyons to Grenoble![46]

But if a kind of slumberous spirit had invaded Pope, Cardinals, and Councils, God was not slumbering; and the Lateran Council had just closed when the first crash of the Reformation resounded. That was in 1517. With Martin Luther and his ninety-five Theses concerning the lawfulness of Indulgences, dawned the era of the Protestant Reformation.[47]

* * *

My aim here is not to study the origin, the spirit, and the vicissitudes of the Reformation in the land where it was born and from whence it

[44] 1409.
[45] Francesco de Sanctis: *Lezione sopra il Cinquecento.*
[46] 3d Session.
[47] 31st of October, 1517.

spread its shining light throughout Europe. In the nineteenth century, *par excellence* "the century of criticism," critics did not spare the movement which has been called "the Protestant revolution." Even the critics of the most radical school, however, who consider the Protestant Reformation as "one of the great calamities of human history," are obliged to admit that it was the Church of Rome which made such a calamity "unavoidable," and must recognise that Luther made men aware of a new relation in which they stood before God and all divine realities. "Luther," says Professor Allen, "carried them right back to the Bible itself, especially to the Psalms and Epistles, in which they found the very fountain-head of religious truth. All the enormous mass of tradition, ceremony, penance, that had intervened, was suddenly swept away, as a mist by a gust of wind; and there was opened to them, very literally, a new heaven and a new earth, quite hidden from them till then. They, too, were face to face with the Infinite. In the joy and strength of that thought, they were emancipated from the yoke of fear." [48]

The German Reformation found a powerful echo on the Italian side of the Alps; and after

[48] J. H. Allen: *Christian History;* 3d vol., "Christian Phases."

having called the Italians back from the wild and noisy way of living of the century of Leo X to the earnestness of life and to the consideration of the great spiritual problems, it opened to them a new horizon: vistas of emancipation from all illegitimate authority and of subjection to Christ only, the head of the true Church.

There were causes, in Italy, that paved the way for this movement, and causes that brought it about.

The way was prepared by the spirit of the people who, by individual and collective protests, had several times shown that they knew how to shake off the yoke of the spiritually arrogant power of Rome. Let it be sufficient, as far as individual protests are concerned, to recall the names of Claudius of Turin, of Arnaldo da Brescia, of Savonarola; and as far as the collective protests are concerned, let us only mention the Milanese episcopacy which refused to recognise the primacy of the bishops of Rome, although that primacy had already been imposed on the remotest churches of the West;[49] not only that, but it also dared to resist Gregory VII in the delicate question of the

[49] It was not until the eleventh century that the Popes succeeded in establishing their authority in Milan and induced the Milanese archbishops to ask for their "pallium" from Rome.

celibacy of the clergy.[50] It was prepared by the Renaissance, when the writings of the Fathers were brought to light and compared with the creed of the Church, and when the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were studied in their original languages; so that the renovated knowledge of the sources of Christian doctrine revealed the differences between the native simplicity of the Gospel and the doctrinal and ecclesiastical system which professed to be founded upon it. Finally, the way was opened to the new revolutionary ideas by the invention of the press, by which means their propagation was made possible.

The causes which brought about the reform movement in Italy may be summed up as follows: the religious corruption of the times; the influence of the Bible, which, in Italy, in the first half of the sixteenth century was, as we shall see, studied more than is generally believed; the frequent interchange of correspondence between the two countries; the presence of German students in Italian universities, and of students from Italy in universities in Germany. Even the war between Charles V and Francis I brought to Italy many adherents to the Reformation who, with the en-

[50] In 1074 the Milanese clergy opposed the decree of Gregory VII forbidding marriage to the priests.

thusiasm of the neophyte and with the boldness of the soldier, quickly spread the new doctrines.

*
* *

What about the extension and the importance of the Reform movement in Italy?

"In Italy," wrote Voltaire, "very few followed Luther; the Italian people, ingenious, and busy with intrigues and pleasures, kept themselves aloof from that agitation."[51] The staunch Roman Catholic Cantù, however, thought otherwise, for he said: "Although the love for the new ideas did not carry away either the people or the princes, and although those who were anxious about the condition of their own belief were very few, compared with the number of those who lived believing without ever analysing their creed, yet, he who thinks that the Reformation had neither extension nor civil and political consequences on this side of the Alps, makes a great mistake."[52] Facts amply show that Cantù was right. To prove the truth of my assertion I ask you to follow me in my rapid flight over the beautiful peninsula.

To the north is *Locarno,* on the enchanting Lago Maggiore. There in 1526, that is to say, nine

[51] For more details see McCrie: *La Riforma in Italia.*
[52] C. Cantù: *Gli eretici d'Italia.* Quoted from McCrie.

years after Luther's Theses, Baldassarre Fontana sowed the first seed of the Reformation which the Locarnese apostle, Giovanni Beccaria, nurtured and surrounded with loving care until it developed into a united and zealous church. Turn to *Istria,* to the peninsula which then belonged to the Queen of the Seas. It is the furthest corner of Northern Italy; the last to accept the Reformation; but it is from that corner that Pier Paolo and Giovan Battista Vergerio came; the two brothers and bishops to whose efforts it was due that, previous to 1546, the greater part of the population of that country had opened their hearts to the Gospel. Then there is *Venice,* the glorious republic, whose Senate, jealous of its own autonomy, resisted the intrusions of Rome and insisted on having its right of sanctuary respected, as sacred to all. It is quite certain that Gerdesio exaggerates when he calls " aurea libertas " the freedom then enjoyed in the shadow of St. Mark; it is quite certain that Venice, absorbed as she was in her love for money, did not consider it practical or profitable to spend too much time on the religious problems of the day; it is equally certain that she tolerated the Holy Office calmly slaying its victims under the very eyes of the winged lion, for want of that sympathy which seems to be com-

pletely unknown to those who have not learnt by experience what misfortune is; and it may be that pride more than noble-mindedness made her resist Rome and insist on her rights being respected. In spite of this, the fact remains that in Venice men like Pietro Carnesecchi, Baldo Lupetino, Baldassarre Altieri were allowed to work indefatigably for the Reformation, and with no little fruit; that from the Venetian printing offices were issued versions of the Bible and religious tracts, which inundated Italy; and that in 1528 the news of the great progress made by evangelical doctrines reached Luther, who, filled with enthusiasm, wrote thus to a friend: "By imparting to me the news that the Venetians receive the Word of the Lord you cause me great joy. God be praised and thanked."[53] In *Padova* many students and some of the professors in the celebrated university, accepted the new ideas. *Verona, Bergamo, Brescia,* also were stirred up; but the movement was more intense in *Vicenza, Treviso,* and the neighbourhood round about, which was in more immediate contact with Venice. "Vast is the harvest," Altieri wrote to Luther and to the brethren in Germany . . . "our ardent wish is

[53] Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, Vol. XXI, p. 1092; ed. J. G. Walch.

that the Word of God may be spread over all the country; but we have nobody to nurture us, unless you, in your abundance, come forward to help us in our necessity." [54]

In *Milan* the Reformation had already made its appearance in 1524; and in twelve years had so progressed, especially through the zeal of Celio Secondo Curione, as to give Paul III food for serious and anxious thought. But it is to *Ferrara* that we must come, if we wish to find the principal bulwark of the Italian Reform movement. There, in the very Court of Casa d'Este, a safe refuge was found for not a few of the Italian and foreign reformers; there the most powerful champions of the great fight against superstition and error were initiated into, for them, the entirely new evangelical doctrines; there the learned and beautiful Duchessa Renata, the daughter of Louis XII of France, one of the brightest stars of the sixteenth century, professed herself an open friend of the Reformation; there, finally, although many deny it, we know as an irrefutable fact through Theodore de Beza, that Calvin himself went between March and April, 1536.[55] At *Modena* the first bold men in Italy who dared to put themselves in direct

[54] Seckendorf, Book III, p. 401.

[55] Beza: *Vita Calvini.* Muratori: *Antichità Estensi,* T. II, p. 389. McCrie: *La Riforma in Italia.*

correspondence with Martin Luther were found; and its famous Academy to which Castelvetro, Francesco and Bartolomeo Grillanzoni, Camillo Molza, Falloppio belonged, was pointed out by all as a powerful centre of heresy. Things were so advanced at Modena, that Cardinal Morone, in writing to Cardinal Contarini, said: "There is rumour that the whole town has become Lutheran."[56] We might stop at *Faenza* and *Imola,* and there also we should find traces of the new movement; but time flies and we must cross the Apennines. In 1525 Florence already had her heretics, and gave to the Reformation excellent translators of the Scriptures, and such men as Pietro Carnesecchi, Pier Martire Vermigli, whom we shall have to mention again, and a cloud of other heroes, who were compelled to ask from other countries the freedom of conscience which they could not expect from Cosimo de' Medici. Father Antonio Caracciolo, attracted by a longing to magnify the work of the Holy Office, wrote: "Carnesecchi and Pier Martire Vermigli had so infected Florence that I heard Signor Pietr' Antonio Bandini, the father of Cardinal Bandini, often say: If it had not been for the Holy Office Florence would have been left without a scrap of

[56] In 1542.

faith." Of *Siena* let it be sufficient to mention Aonio Paleario and the very frequent visits paid to the Sienese by Bernardino Ochino, during his apostolic peregrinations, when he exhorted them to accept the Reformation. *Lucca,* the native city of Giovanni Diodati, had an imposing nucleus of lovers of the new religious movement; and in the shade of the severe basilica of San Frediano, the young clerics of the seminary founded by Vermigli breathed the pure atmosphere of the rising Reformation, and were instructed by him and Celso Martinengo, Emanuele Tremellio, Girolamo Zanchi, and Paolo Lazise. In *Viterbo,* in 1541, a strong and most important group of adherents to the Reformation gathered round Cardinal Reginald Pole, a friend of the movement, and a nephew of the Duke of Clarence, whose brothers ascended the throne of England as Edward IV and Richard III. *Rome* also, as well as Sicily, opened its heart to the new revolutionary ideas; but the shining beacon of the south of Italy was in *Naples,* where, in a palace at Chiaia, a pious and learned Spanish gentleman, Juan de Valdès, attracted the flower of Italian piety, represented by men such as Pier Martire Vermigli, Bernardino Ochino, Marco Antonio Flaminio, Pietro Carnesecchi, Jacopo Bonfadio the historian, Lattanzio Ragnoni of

Siena, Bartolomeo Spataforo, a nobleman of Messina, Donato Rullo from Puglia, Mario Galeata from Naples, Placido di Sangro or de Sanguine, the head of the Academy of de' Sereni, Giovan Galeazzo Caracciolo, son of the Marquis of Vico, Vittoria Soranzo and Gian Tommaso Senfelice, who had once upon a time been chamberlain of Pope Clement VII, Giovanni Buzio from Montalcino,[57] Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, a literary star of her century and twin soul of the great Michelangelo, Giulia Gonzaga, Duchess of Trajetto and Countess of Fondi, a woman of exquisite piety and famous for her misfortunes not less than for her fascinating beauty, and Donna Isabella Brisegna, the wife of Don Garzia Manriquez, the Governor of Piacenza.

Thus the movement, spread simultaneously and spontaneously, is amazing, when one thinks of the political conditions in Italy in the sixteenth century. It looked, says McCrie, as if the scattered members of the national body were going to be knit together once for all not only by the influence of an intellectual reawakening such as that of the

[57] He is generally known to historians by the name of *Mollio*. Precise information relating to his family name and martyrdom (1533) is given in a document in S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome. Tomo III, f. 66, dated 4th September, 1553. (See Antonio Agostini: *Pietro Carnesecchi e il Movimento Valdesiano.*)

magnificent sixteenth century, but also by the influence of a true spiritual revival in the Italian conscience.

And the movement was spreading over all social classes. Cantù says: "Whilst the Reformation in Germany was associated with princes, and in France with the nobility, in Italy it principally touched the men of letters."[58] *Principally,* but not *exclusively,* because the religious movement of the century of Martin Luther, in Italy, did not only affect literary men, but also philosophers, monastics, noblemen, men of the sword, courtiers, and women, such as Isabella Manrica di Bresegna, Lavinia della Rovere, Madonna Elena Rangone di Bentivoglio, Giulia Gonzaga, Vittoria Colonna, and Olimpia Morata. Ernesto Masi, one of the few Italians who studied dispassionately the Reform movement in his country, said with more truth than Cantù that it began "in high places." In fact, when one looks back to that "Oratorio del Divino Amore," founded almost at the door of the Roman Court, where men like Giberti, Sadoleto, Latino Giovenale, Giuliano Dati, and Caraffa, who afterwards became Paul IV,[59] met to pray

[58] C. Cantù: *Gli eretici d'Italia.* Quoted from McCrie.

[59] Paul IV was afterwards "the viper that bit the rising evangelical Reformation in Italy more venomously than any one else."—E. Comba: *Storia della Riforma in Italia.*

and to study the Bible; when one remembers that in 1537 Paul III himself was bound by the spirit of the times to appoint the "Collegium de emendanda Ecclesia," composed of four Cardinals and five prelates, to study the best way in which to bring about a reform of the abuses of the Church;[60] when one takes into account the fact that the Reformation in the sixteenth century had created not only two currents, one heretical and the other reactionary, but also a third which, in the very bosom of the Roman Court, aimed at conciliating the other two; and when one remembers also that the Duke Ercole of Ferrara took great delight in the theological discussions of his time, that the Duchess Renata favoured the heretics and gave hospitality in her own castle to Aonio Paleario, Pietro Vergnanini, Francesco Porto, Girolamo Bolsec, John Calvin, Clément Marot, and that this heresy had found its way into the very household of the Medici, it will appear evident that Ernesto Masi was right. He errs, however, when he asserts that the movement so begun "in high

[60] The Report of this "Collegium" was entitled: "Concilium Delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum prælatorum de emendanda Ecclesia, S.D. N.D. Paulo III ipso jubente conscriptum et exhibitum anno MDXXXVIII," and was signed by Cardinals Contarini, Caraffa, Sadoleto, Pole, and by five other prelates.

places '' " did not descend.'' To show how wrong he was in his assertion, Professor E. Comba mentions Venice and the country round about, where, in 150 trials for heresy in the Holy Office, not one single name of a person belonging to the nobility is to be found, and where the new ideas had so stirred the people as to excite the apprehension of the government. It is, therefore, legitimate to conclude that the Reform movement spread, more or less, throughout all social classes. It began in literary circles and Academies; gripped the most noted men famous for their doctrine, influence, and nobility of descent; found its way into the Italian Courts, and thence descended to the army and among the people. Not a corner could be found in the Peninsula where the Reformation had not its proselytes. The Bible was circulated everywhere, and was eagerly read and studied together with many other books of reformed theology; among which were the *Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans and on the Gospel of St. Matthew,* by Bucer; the *Discourses on the Songs of Degrees,* by Luther; the *One-hundred and Ten Divine Considerations,* by Valdès; the *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* by Calvin, translated into Italian by Giulio Cesare Paschali, and dedi-

cated to Galeazzo Caracciolo, Marquis of Vico,[61] and, above all, the most valuable *Trattato del Beneficio di Cristo* (*Treatise on the Benefit of Christ*), by San Benedetto da Mantova, which for so long was erroneously attributed to Aonio Paleario.[62] In these volumes souls weary of the

[61] Giulio Cesare Paschali: *Instituzione della Religione Cristiana.* Ginevra. Coi tipi di Jacopo Burgese, Antonio Davodeo e Francesco Jacchì compagni. 4 Agosto, 1558.

[62] Until a few years ago nobody knew precisely who was the author of this most important work. Some, like Schelhorn and Babington, ascribed it to Aonio Paleario; others, instead, ascribed it to one of the following: Ochino, Vermigli, Flaminio, or Valdès. Pietro Carnesecchi, however, in his evidence before the judges of the Holy Office, clearly says that the author of the Benefizio was "a negro monk of St. Benedetto, called Don Benedetto da Mantova, who said that he had written it in his monastery in Sicily near Mount Etna. The said Don Benedetto handed it over to a friend of his, M. Marcantonio Flaminio, and asked him to be so good as to polish it up with his beautiful style, so that it might be all the more readable and attractive. Flaminio left the matter untouched, but altered the form to suit his own taste." (See Extract of Pietro Carnesecchi's trial, edited by Giacomo Manzoni, Turin, 1870.) This same information is found repeated by Antonio Caracciolo in a manuscript Life of Paul IV, also by Vergerio in his Commentary on the "Index Librorum Prohibitorum," and is confirmed in the trial of Cardinal Morone. In 1540 or 1541 it had already been transcribed by Pietro Carnesecchi in Naples; but we do not know if at that time it had been printed or not. What we know for certain is that in 1543 it was published in Venice, and that, without taking into account other editions issued contemporaneously, 40,000 copies of it were issued and sold, until 1549, in Venice alone. This is attested by Vergerio in his *Discourse on the Venetian Index* of 1549. (See Antonio Agostini: *Pietro Carnesecchi e il Movimento Valdesiano;* K. Benrath: *Chi fu l'autore del Benefizio di Cristo?* in *Rivista Cristiana.* Anno 1876. Gennaio. Eduard Boehmer:

world and thirsty for truth and righteousness, found spiritual and moral nourishment. Characters were transformed under the powerful action of the spirit of God, and men died heroically for a holy ideal, in a century that had completely lost all ideality. They died as Gioffredo Varaglia [63] did, who answered thus to the executioner who begged his forgiveness for the painful duty imposed upon him: "Not only do I forgive you, but I forgive those also who have arrested me and brought me here, and who have condemned me to this death. Be of good courage, fulfil your duty; be sure that my dying will not be in vain." Or as Pietro Carnesecchi [64] did, who, as is recorded by the historian Carlo Botta, witnessed with marvellous endurance the very last preparations for his martyrdom, and went to the stake as if to a feast. Dressed in his best, wearing immaculate linen, and holding in his hand a white handkerchief and a new pair of gloves, he walked steadily forward, calm and serene. "It seemed," says Agostini,[65] "as if in that slender, delicate body, which, on account

Cenni biografici sui fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso. 1861. Appendix to the volume: *Le Cento e dieci Divine Considerazioni di Giovanni Valdesso.* Halle in Saxony. MDCCCLX.)

[63] Turin, 17th December, 1557. [64] Rome, 1st October, 1567.

[65] Antonio Agostini: *Pietro Carnesecchi e il Movimento Valdesiano.*

of sickness and the many trials it had undergone, could scarcely stand, there breathed the breath of a new life and worked a mysterious power." Or as Aonio Paleario [66] did, who, when condemned to the stake, at seventy years of age, wrote thus to his wife on the very morning in which he died: "I should like you not to be grieved on account of my joy. Do not allow what is for my good to be turned into evil for you. The hour has come when I must pass from this life to my Lord, my Father, and my God. I depart joyfully, as if I were going to the marriage of the great King's Son. I have petitioned my Lord to enable me to do so through His Infinite goodness and mercy. So, my dearest wife, be comforted by the thought that this is the will of God and that I am perfectly resigned to it. Care for our desolate family, try to educate and keep the young ones in the fear of the Lord. Be father and mother at the same time. Our children must think for themselves and be virtuous, and industrious, and live an honourable life. God, the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with your spirit." [67] Ernesto Masi was right when he wrote:

[66] Rome, 3d July, 1570.

[67] The last letters of Aonio Paleario were reprinted from the Italian original by Schelhorn in his *Dissertatio de Mino Celso senensi.*

"Whatever may be the opinion one has of these men, this is unquestionable: that, while the nation was dying for want of strong moral convictions and was accommodating herself to slavery in a cowardly fashion, the throbbing of the heart of Italy was only perceptible in the men that adhered to the Reformation. They faced prison, torture, poverty, exile, and the stake, for the freedom of their conscience. Those protestants and philosophers in whom a spark of a new life, of a love for truth and goodness still glowed, were the last noble custodians of human dignity during the second half of the sixteenth century and also in the best part of the century that followed."[68]

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Notwithstanding all this, the Reformation in Italy was doomed to die. It died a violent death, in fact, after having lived for about half a century; and its tragic end may be completely and faithfully recalled by the mention of a few names: Paul III cast it into prison; the Jesuits went about hunting for its friends, investigating its documents, heaping up the materials for its coming trial; the Inquisition judged it and condemned

[68] Ernesto Masi: *I Burlamacchi.* Quoted from E. Comba.

it to death; Julius III brought it to the stake; the Council of Trent endeavoured to disperse its so-called heretical ideas; Paul IV scattered its ashes to the winds; Pius IV, at San Sisto, La Guardia, and at Montalto, steeped in blood the descendants of those Waldenses who, as we shall see later on, had been its forerunners, and Pius V swore that he would wrench from the heart of Italy its very remembrance.

Now, how is it that a movement such as this, which appeared in a divided and subdivided country like Italy in a sporadic fashion it is true, but at the same time suddenly, spontaneously, and in all classes of society, did not spread throughout the Peninsula and bring forth the fruit that it brought forth in other countries?

The answer to this question is not easy. The problem implied in the question is a very complex one. Many reasons have been assigned to explain the failure of the Reform movement in Italy, such as, for instance: the almost absolute want of true national spirit at the time; the lack of sympathy from princes; the terror inspired by the idea of possible foreign invasions; the form assumed by Protestantism beyond the Alps, a form believed to be not always congenial to the Latin spirit in general and to the Italian in particular; the de-

ficient organisation of the movement, which in Italy had too many leaders; the all too thin ranks of the adherents, and the lamentable want of energy.[69] All these are without doubt strong, real reasons, sufficient in themselves to make unfruitful any beneficial movement in a nation. Nevertheless, if we give the matter deeper consideration, and look at it from all its possible aspects, other and more profound reasons than these will suggest themselves to us, which will convey a more satisfactory explanation of the failure of the Reformation in Italy.

In the first place, the Renaissance, in Italy, made religious reform impossible. De Leva has drawn attention to this fact: "The German Reformation," he says, "having as its foundation the religious and moral spirit of the cultivated classes, succeeded; and in spite of all its aberrations, bore abundant fruit. On the other hand, our Renaissance, although so beneficial to the culture of our and all other lands, inasmuch as its followers thought that those who were trying their best to harmonise Science with belief were not only not progressing but were falling back two centuries at least, discouraged us in following the

[69] E. Comba: *Storia della Riforma in Italia.*

great movement, which strengthened so marvellously the young nations of Europe.'' [70]

The Renaissance, which in Germany brought about religious reform, did nothing in Italy but revive paganism in the fine arts and literature, and undermine religious sentiment by doubt and indifference. Now, we all know that to build up any kind of religious reform on a foundation of doubt and indifference is an utter impossibility.

In the second place, what made religious reform in Italy impossible, was the institution of Papacy.[71] When the Reformation broke out in Germany, faith no longer existed in Italy. The faith of the sixteenth century, in Italy, was sickly and without works; a faith that consisted entirely of exterior forms of worship and pompous and solemn ceremonies. To attend mass, perform other religious duties, and to plan grand solemn processions, was all that constituted religion in the sixteenth century. The powerful voice of Savonarola had already thundered against that formalism; but formalism and religious materialism were bound to render any movement of reform

[70] De Leva: *Storia documentata di Carlo Quinto,* Vol. III, Cap. V. Quoted from E. Comba.

[71] See E. Comba: *I nostri Protestanti.*

sterile. Where can the real cause of such calamity be found? It is to be found in Papacy, whose influence, always spiritually malign, greatly affected those who were nearest to it. That explains why in Rome and in the neighbouring country the seed of the Reformation sprouted with much less vigour than in the distant provinces. Machiavelli has well said: " The nations nearest to the Roman Church, the head of our religion, have least religion of all. . . . To the Church and the priests we Italians owe the fact of our having become irreligious and bad."[72] Martin Luther and John Calvin also, when visiting Italy, received a sad impression of the spiritual condition of the country. Luther wrote: " The Italians are the most impious among men. They ridicule religion and make fun of us because we believe in the Holy Scriptures. Although imbued with all kinds of false doctrines, they still are prepared to accept many, and even worse ones than they have already; in fact, they are reprobate in their sentiments."[73] And Calvin, when he came to Ferrara to visit the Duchess Renata, encouraged the martyrs of Italy to die, in order to give the " crooked and perverse " generation in Italy an example of

[72] Machiavelli: *Discorsi*, L. I, C. 12.
[73] *Colloq.*, I, 376; II, 371. Quoted from E. Comba.

sincerity and magnanimity.[74] In this general bankruptcy of belief brought about by the tyrannical and antichristian papal government, lies the second reason for the failure of the Reform movement in Italy.

The third reason of failure is to be found in the fact, pointed out by Agostini, that the German conception of the Church of Rome and of Papacy clashed with the sentiments and aspirations of Italy. While Germany, in order to ensure for herself a reasonable economic prosperity and to acquire political autonomy, was bound to throw off the yoke of the Church of Rome, which was domineering over her and crushing her with a thousand impositions, Italy, on the other hand, thought that the best thing to do would be just to leave Papacy as it was, the centre of life and activity in the world. The Pope transacted all kinds of affairs with kings and emperors on a footing of perfect equality, mixed himself in all business concerning the States of Italy; was always the source of all authority. The Pope represented the spiritual and moral unity of the whole Peninsula, which, on account of particular circumstances, had not been able to organise herself so as to form one nation,

[74] "Nation tortue et perverse." Crespin: *Hist. des Martyrs*, ed. 1582, f. 442 verso. Quoted from E. Comba.

as other countries had done. He, in the midst of all the small States into which Italy had been divided, seemed to be the continuator of the plan of ancient Rome, which had gathered together different peoples and had united them by giving them equal rights, equal customs, and equal institutions.[75] Surely every one is aware, says Agostini, that the imposing universality of the great moral power and glory of Papacy is a conception that has always intoxicated Italy to such a degree as to make her forget almost completely the disasters, the afflictions, and the shame that Papacy has ever inflicted on her. When I think of Italy and of her relations with Papacy, I seem to hear an enamoured country say to her worst enemy: "Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te." (Neither with thee nor without thee can I live.)

The fourth reason which prevented the movement from spreading throughout Italy, may be summed up in one word: egoism. The Italian people, who, owing to the Renaissance, had fallen into paganism and sensualism and had no other conception of man, of the universe, and of life than a materialistic one, seemed to be reduced to such

[75] Antonio Agostini: *Pietro Carnesecchi e il Movimento Valdesiano.*

a point as to respond to the vibrations of only one chord: that of self-interest. Italy of the sixteenth century desired to keep Papacy as it was, not only because of national pride, as I have already pointed out, but for a stronger reason, namely: material interest. Papacy, by means of open or secret channels, managed to extract money from all parts of the globe, and spent it on Italy. Cantù says: "The Italians of that time were very sensible to the fact that Papacy was ensuring to Italy financial importance, and was attracting to the country, men, commerce, and wealth."[76] If, as the Reformation wished, the Pope could have been deprived of his power and been reduced to the simple position of a bishop, what would have happened from a financial point of view? asks Agostini. "From the very beginning of the Reform movement, this was the great problem in Italy, in the sixteenth century. The same may be said about Indulgences. The trade in Indulgences was carried on in Italy as well as in Germany. It is true that, on account of the miserable condition of the country, trade in Indulgences was growing slack; yet, those who felt inclined to spend money on Indulgences did it willingly, counting on the advantage they had a right to

[76] C. Cantù: *Gli eretici d'Italia.*

expect from them. It was a matter of personal profit; the purchasers meant to place their money at a high rate of interest in the Bank of Heaven, and nothing more. The Italian reformers did not approve of Indulgences, and preached against them; but preached to deaf ears. They might have thundered as much as they liked to try to convince their hearers that Indulgences were contrary to the spirit of the Church, and that they were not mentioned by the Fathers; people all the same willingly continued to pay money that, according to them, was to open the gates of Paradise, and to procure for them on earth abundant benefits."[77] The selfish spirit of the sixteenth century appears in bold relief in the following words of the great historian of those times, Francesco Guicciardini:[78] "I do not know," he wrote, "if there be a man more disgusted than I am with the ambition, avarice, and effeminacy of the priests. . . . Nevertheless, my position at the Court of several Popes has made it necessary for me, in view of my own private interests, to love their greatness; had it not been for that reason, I should have loved Martin Luther dearly, not in order to be rid of the laws laid upon us by the

[77] Antonio Agostini: *Pietro Carnesecchi e il Movimento Valdesiano.*

[78] 1483-1540.

Christian religion as it is commonly interpreted and understood, but in order to see that pack of villains reduced to the point of being either without vices, or without authority.'' [79]

Lastly, a modernist has written recently: " The history of the Reformation, when studied in a calm spirit, shows that when the Reform movement begins from those in power, or by means of their protection, it ends by doing great good to many, if not to all; if, on the contrary, it has its rise in the lower classes, it ends by bringing about schisms, more or less as in Luther's time, always a deplorable thing.'' [80] Many agree with him. But how differently history speaks to those who know how to read it aright! It says that reforms begun in high places more often remain there, and do not descend to transform the masses, unless the masses be moved by a conviction of sin, a longing for redemption, and a desire for the divine, in which lie the true foundations of an earnest, deep, and lasting reformation. Did the great and beneficial Franciscan movement begin from on high? Certainly not; it began among the people. True,

[79] Francesco Guicciardini. Opere inedite, Ricordo 28. *Vide* also Ric. 236 and 346.

[80] Sibilla: *Lettere Ghibelline.*

it ended by being recognised and officially accepted by the Church; but, before that, how many and what dreadful hostilities it had to encounter! Even in Germany, where the Reformation was not a "deplorable schism," but, as Abbot Luigi Anelli says, "a great revolution the effects of which still exist and will last who knows for how long,"[81] that Reformation, I say, would never have taken place, had not the great soul of Germany been awakened before and felt new needs and new aspirations. That Reformation, effected by the providential and united co-operation of Electors and people, might have arisen through the people without the Electors, but never through the Electors without the people. In Italy the Reformation had neither the good-will of princes nor the longing of a people hungering and thirsting after truth and righteousness. The princes, blinded by ambition, went to the point, as Cosimo de' Medici did, of betraying their best friends, and of delivering them into the hands of the Pope, to be condemned to the stake, men of immaculate faith and character such as Pietro Carnesecchi.[82] The peo-

[81] Abate Luigi Anelli: *I Riformatori nel secolo XVI.*

[82] Cosimo I betrayed his faithful friend Pietro Carnesecchi in his own palace (some say while Carnesecchi was sitting at table as a guest), and delivered him into the hands of the sbirri of Pius V. It was about the end of June, 1566. On the 3d of July

ple no longer heeded the things of God; they had completely lost all " mysticalness " as Terenzio Mamiani has called it; the Renaissance had transformed their soul into a pagan one, and Papacy had killed the conscience within them. How in the world could the Reformation have succeeded in Italy?

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When, going back to the sixteenth century, which was the glorious century of Italian art and literature, I notice the minor influence that art and literature had on the moral education of the people in Italy, and when I compare that with the great and beneficial influence which the principles of the Reformation exercised on the nations that accepted them, I am more than ever convinced that if greatness of intellect is possible without morality, true morality is not possible without faith. To say that intellect and heart are condemned to be in everlasting discord in individuals and in nations, is simply absurd; but still, it is an undeniable fact that conflict between the intellect

the martyr arrived in Rome, and on the 1st October, 1567, after being beheaded, his body was burnt. Two years later, Cosimo I received from the Pope, as the price of his treachery, the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, which he had so long and unsuccessfully coveted.

and the heart seems to be a constant characteristic of the Italian people. Will the conflict ever come to an end in Italy? And if so, how will it end?

Several names occur here to my mind, names of men who seem to point out a way of solving the problem.

On the threshold of the sixteenth century stands the severe and noble figure of Fra Girolamo Savonarola.[83] He closes the door of the Middle Ages and has the key of Modern times. He is true to the religion of his fathers; he does not give up nor does he wish to give up the dogmas of the Roman Church, but he dreams of a sacerdotal religion constantly overlooking the institutions of the State; a condition to which his Florentine theocratic republic should serve as the pattern.

Can that be the way to solve the great problem?

I do not think so.

Without the gate that closes the sixteenth century stands another severe and noble figure; that of Giordano Bruno:[84] "sad," as Abbot Anelli says, "and longing for better times and for a better humanity."[85] He tolerates the Protestant revolution; but does so because he considers it as a step towards a religion which, according to

[83] 1452-1498. [84] ? 1550-1600.
[85] Abate Luigi Anelli: *I Riformatori nel secolo XVI.*

him, must be essentially philosophical. He is longing for a Church full of holy affection, of godly sentiment; in his vast imagination he proposes to transform the whole of Italy, which he wants to be free and moral. Hence, his *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante* (*The Despatch of the Triumphant Beast*) and the *Cabala del cavallo pegaseo* (*The Cabala of the Pegasean Horse*), directed against superstition and immoral and unspiritual orthodoxy. Hence, his effort to restore primitive morality and the inborn respect for duty, because, although religion, according to him, may be useful to all, still it has not the force of law except to the uncultured masses in whom the rational idea of duty has too little authority.

Can that be the way to solve the great problem?

I do not think so.

In the middle of the sixteenth century stands a group of figures; they seem to wait calmly, looking into the distant horizon, and smiling as people do who cherish a loved ideal. Who are they? They are Pier Martire Vermigli, Bernardino Ochino, Marcantonio Flaminio, Pietro Carnesecchi, Aonio Paleario, Giovanni Buzio,[86] and many others of whom we have been speaking. What do they

[86] Giovanni Buzio is always known by historians as *Giovanni Mollio*. See n. 57.

want? They want perfect freedom of research; the "nosce te ipsum" as a basis of individual religion; Christ, as the only Mediator between God and man; the Gospel as the only rule of faith and conduct; eternal life not ensured by money, merit, sacerdotal interference, but offered as a free gift by God to every repenting and believing sinner.

Is that the way to solve the great problem?

Yes, I firmly believe it is.

When Italy understands that true religion is neither superstitious nor bigoted but a beautiful and holy reality to be accepted as the only foundation of any true moral life; when God has freed the country from what still remains in it of the obstacles that frustrated all the efforts of the Italian reformers, then the Italians will not turn to Fra Girolamo in search of inspiration; because the Church of Rome, such as she is, will no longer satisfy them; nor will they turn to the great Nolan philosopher; for his idea of duty is too metaphysical and loses itself in the mysterious solitude of the infinity of God. They will then turn to their martyrs, who, with their pen, with their word, and from the stake, have pointed out to all the Christ of the Gospel; Christ, who makes us members of the true Church which, as Buzio from Montalcino

said to his judges, " is neither Roman, nor Lombard, nor Venetian, but truly Catholic;" Christ, who gives us not only the notion of duty, but also the perfect example of how to perform it, and the strength necessary to put it into practice.

III

THE DRAMATIC HISTORY OF THE BIBLE IN ITALY

III

THE DRAMATIC HISTORY OF THE BIBLE IN ITALY

WHEN speaking of the causes that paved the way for the Reform movement in Italy, I mentioned, among others, the dissemination of the Bible. We have now come to the moment for going a little deeper into this interesting and important subject. In order to be able to form a fair estimate of the value of the Italian translations of the Bible, we must begin our researches " ab ovo "; that is, from the very first Latin translations of the original texts, because from these sprang the many subsequent Italian translations.

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The first Latin translation we possess is that called by St. Augustine the " Itala "; this title, however, we must abandon, because it affects the great question of the origin of that version:

namely, whether it originated in Rome or in North Africa: the two great centres of Western Christianity. St. Jerome more aptly called it "Vulgata et communis"; and so did St. Gregory, when he named it "the Vetus," "the Ancient." At the beginning of the Christian era, Latin was gradually becoming the language of the West, and was taking the place of Greek as a language in common use. Now, St. Augustine tells us that from the very first introduction of Christianity, the Latin Church possessed several versions of the Scriptures by unknown authors. Here a new and interesting problem arises, and that is whether those versions were really the work of unknown translators. In other words, whether it is a fact, as many suppose, that in those early times any one who found a Greek text and was possessed of some knowledge of Greek and Latin translated that text, or if those versions were nothing more or less than variations of one and the same text, namely, the "Old Latin." I only point out the problem; its solution does not concern us here. The fact is that of all the versions or variations of one version, the "Old Latin" ended by captivating the attention and the confidence of the Christian public, on account of its fidelity and clearness.

Where did it first appear? As I have already said, it was either in Rome or North Africa; more probably, in North Africa. That it appeared about 170, may be affirmed with confidence. Whose work it was, is a mystery. And here, on the threshold of the temple of criticism, we shall stop; not, however, before noticing the title of this venerable version. St. Jerome called it later on "Vulgata et communis"; that is to say: "in the language of the people and within reach of all." It is needless for me to say here that this "Vulgate" is previous to that of St. Jerome bearing the same name. The Vulgate which we are referring to here belongs to the second country; that of St. Jerome, which we shall come to later, appeared about the end of the fourth century, and was known by the name of "Vulgate" later still. We may here observe that when this very old version appeared, as the language of the people was Latin, the Bible was translated into Latin: the language that everybody spoke and understood, and that the new translation was allowed a free circulation.

About the middle of the fourth century, the Western Church deeply felt the need of an official Latin text of the Bible. All the numerous existing translations created great confusion, owing

to the carelessness of the scribes. Their ignorance was such that it had reduced the Old Latin version to a pitiable condition. A revision was most necessary; and the providential man for the work appeared in St. Jerome.

St. Jerome was born of a Christian family in Stridon, a frontier town between Dalmatia and Pannonia, about 340 or 342. In 382, just when the need of that revision was most deeply felt by the Western Church, St. Jerome, this great and saintly man of God, happened to be in Rome. Damaso,[1] Bishop of Rome, perceived at once that here was the man for this important work. He had already been attracted by St. Jerome, had become his protector, and had chosen him as his private secretary; he, therefore, entrusted him with the very delicate duty of revising the Vulgate. Jerome, who was well acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew,[2] set to work. He collated texts, corrected existing versions, translated part of the originals anew, and in 383 published the

[1] d. 384.

[2] "In later years, when he was translating the Old Testament from the original, he had attained a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language, while long residence and travel in the East had given him that first-hand acquaintance with the country and its customs which must be invaluable to any one undertaking a task of this nature."—H. J. WHITE in *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings, D.D.

four Gospels; then, in the same year or not much later, he published the Acts and the rest of the New Testament; and between 390 and 405, he published the Old Testament. In short, this is what he did. He took the Apocrypha as it stood, from the Old Latin version. From the same Old Latin version, he took the whole of the New Testament and the Psalter, amending them where necessary. The other books of the Jewish Canon he translated anew from the Hebrew.

St. Jerome's Vulgate is a great work; the work of a philologian, not always immaculate, but learned and conscientious. He is at times more an interpreter or a paraphrast than a translator; at other times he is inclined to give a Messianic significance to passages which they have not got in the original text; generally his work is not at the same level of excellence throughout; some books have been translated in such haste that they almost indicate negligence and slovenly work. In spite of all this, St. Jerome has left a work which, on the whole, is one of profound doctrine and of exquisite workmanship.

How did the public receive it? As soon as the Gospels appeared, criticism commenced; and what severe criticism it was! When the Old Testament was published and the clerical aristarchs noticed

that Jerome had not followed the Septuagint but had translated directly from the Hebrew text, criticism became more and more violent. Vile rumours were spread secretly; and the enemies of anything new did not hesitate to assert emphatically that they were perfectly content with the translations they already possessed, and that they did not desire or need such innovations. Meanwhile, the ignorant clergy who considered the Septuagint as heaven-sent and divinely inspired, and those who envied the great man, were beside themselves with joy. Even St. Augustine[3] viewed askance the work of Jerome. The following is an incident; a very small one, but most symptomatic.[4] A certain African bishop thought of adopting Jerome's translation for public worship in his church. There seemed at the moment to be no difficulty in the way. But, suddenly, one day, this awful discovery was made: that in the passage of the book of Jonah where it is said that the "Lord God prepared a gourd and made it to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head, to deliver him from his grief,"[4] Jerome

[3] 354-430. St. Augustine in his Xth Letter clearly says that "Jerome's version differs much from the authentic Septuagint and that the Jews also are averse to it." And in his XIXth Letter he says emphatically that he is not inclined either to adopt it himself, or to allow it to be read in his church.

[4] See Hastings: *Dict. of the Bible.*

had taken the great liberty of introducing an innovation. "Gourd," in Hebrew, is called "*KIKAJÔN*"; now, the ancient Latin translators had rendered *KIKAJÔN* as *cucurbita;* Jerome, instead, had dared to translate it as *hedera* (ivy). Could you believe it? This novelty, introduced into a passage so well known to everybody, became the cause of a terrible turmoil; and if the good bishop had not hastened to change *hedera* back to *cucurbita,* he would soon have seen his church empty.

And what of Jerome? He was a saint; but one of those saints who might be called "short-tempered"; he had a ready tongue, a fiery character, and knew how to retaliate. He called his venomous critics "homunculi" (manikins), and "bipedes aselli" (two-legged asses); and when writing to Marcella said: "I might cover them with contempt. What is the good of playing a harp to asses? If they do not feel inclined to drink water flowing from a pure source, let them then drink the slush from the muddy pools!" But the storm gradually blew over, as all storms fortunately do; and when the stormy life of the nonagenarian Jerome closed in Bethlehem in 420, his translation had already begun to make its way. For a long time the Old Latin and Jerome's new

version were used indifferently in churches, according to the taste of each, or the desire of their founders; and it was only in the seventh century, when Gregory I[5] bestowed upon it his papal approval, that Jerome's translation came into general use. In the thirteenth century it began to be known under its present name "The Vulgate" (Editio vulgata); and in 1545 the Council of Trent declared it *authentic*,[6] including freedom from

[5] 540-604.

[6] The Council decreed (Sess. IV) "*eam esse ex omnibus latinis editionibus quæ circumferunt, pro authentica habendam*"; or "that the Vulgate, of all the Latin versions in circulation at the time, should be recognised as the *authentic* version." And here the correct meaning of the decree must be grasped. The word *authentic*, the Roman Catholic theology says, implies the conception of authority; and, properly and generally, signifies: *auctoritate munitum:* what is authoritative; what has the weight of authority. Any document whatever may, therefore, be authentic in various ways and degrees. (*a*) If it be an autograph, an original, its authenticity is absolute, and is called "authenticity of identity." (*b*) If it be an apograph, that is to say, a copy of the original, its authenticity is relative, and is called "authenticity of agreement." (*c*) If it be a translation, its authenticity is here also relative, and is called "authenticity of faithfulness." Then, there are two kinds of authenticity: The *intrinsic* (that which arises from the very nature of the autograph, from the agreement with the autograph, or from the truthfulness of the version as regards its reproduction of the original), and the *extrinsic* (that which is given to a writing by other valid reasons; and in the case of the version of the Bible, by the authoritative declaration of the Church).

Now, two things are to be noted: the object which the decree of the Trent Council had in view, and the way in which the authenticity of the Vulgate is to be understood. As far as the

errors which might lead believers astray as far as doctrine and moral conduct are concerned. Now, to that decree of the famous Council we must attribute the origin of three evils. Firstly: As a consequence of the decree, the originals of the Bible, in the Church of Rome were completely neglected. The Church had now the Vulgate and that was enough. Secondly: Since the decree, the Roman Church has had several new Italian translations of the Bible; but they are not translations from the original texts, but from the Vulgate; which means that they are translations of a translation, and of a translation not free from defects.[7]

object is concerned, it is clear that the decree does not refer either to the originals, or to the old versions of the Oriental or of the Western Churches, but only to the Latin versions in circulation at the time. As far as the way in which the authenticity is concerned, the authenticity of the Vulgate is understood to be *extrinsic* and *intrinsic; extrinsic,* inasmuch as it has been authoritatively declared to be the only authentic version accepted by the Church; *intrinsic,* inasmuch as in its principal and substantial parts relating to belief and to morals it is faithful to the original.

[7] Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia (d. 408), wrote a special book with the intention of pointing out to Jerome (who, in 374, was his friend) the mistakes of the Vulgate and criticising them. The very learned Sisto da Siena (XVI cent.) in his valuable work, *Bibliotheca Santa* (7th Book), maintains that a large number of passages are to be found in the Vulgate differing from the original text. The famous Dominican theologian, Natalis Alexander (1639-1724), in a long and learned dissertation, speaks of and proves the mistakes in the Vulgate, and quotes 103 passages, which, he says, are completely falsified. Santi Pagnini and Benedetto Montano (called also Arias),

Thirdly: The decree led to the complete abandonment of the critical and exegetical study of the original texts: a study which was instead cultivated with rare zeal and great skill in the churches over which the Council of Trent had no authority. The abandonment of such a study of the Bible is now producing very interesting consequences. In our day, when biblical study is being cultivated in a surprising manner in the Church of Rome, Roman Catholic students are obliged to draw their materials from those very Protestant sources against which the Council of Trent had hurled its furious "anathemas."

But let us go back to the Vulgate. When once adopted universally in the Western Church, copies rapidly multiplied; and with the multiplication of copies, mistakes also were multiplied; these mistakes were due, almost always, to ignorance;

two Orientalists of great repute and most zealous Roman Catholics, translated the Bible anew from the originals in order to revise the many mistakes in the Vulgate. And here an important fact is worth mentioning. When the Council of Trent asserted the Vulgate "esse ex omnibus latinis editionibus quæ circumferunt, pro authentica habendam," it made a gross scientific error. At the time of the Council (1545-1563), the Latin translation which the Dominican Santi Pagnini had edited at Lyons in 1527-1528, and dedicated to Clement VII, had already been issued. In any case, that was the translation which, already authentic by *intrinsic authentia,* the Council should have declared authentic "out of all the Latin versions in circulation at the time" by *extrinsic authentia,* instead of St. Jerome's Vulgate.

sometimes, to malice. Attempts were made to correct them; but they brought more confusion than enlightenment. Even to the 54 bishops who, at Trent, had declared it "authentic," tangible proofs were produced to show that the Vulgate was swarming with mistakes. But what was to be done? A decree of that nature is infallible and cannot be withdrawn. Sixtus V then intervened, and appointed a special committee, headed by Cardinal Caraffa; and this Committee he entrusted with the revision of the Vulgate, whilst he also threw himself into the work. In 1590, Sixtus V published a new and splendid edition of the Vulgate, and solemnly declared in a Bull that the "authentic" Vulgate referred to by the Council of Trent was the one he had published; and threatened with the punishments laid down by that Council all those who dared to question his dictum. A true case, as every one perceives, of sleight of hand. But, alas, even the Bible of Sixtus V was soon found to be faulty; and among others, by the very famous Jesuit Bellarmino.[8] Sixtus V had mortally offended the Jesuits by having placed a book by Bellarmino [9] on the Index. And when one has mortally offended the Jesuits (Sixtus V should have known it!), there is very

[8] d. 1621. [9] *De dominio Papæ directo.*

little chance of his being left in peace. Bellarmino did not lose such a favourable opportunity; after having ascertained with great care the numerous mistakes in the papal edition, he openly condemned it in a strong letter to Clement VIII. The outburst caused by that step was such that Clement was obliged to withdraw all the copies, and to order a revised and corrected edition of the Vulgate. This new edition was issued in January, 1592; and in order to avoid any possible objections and not to run the risk of compromising the papal authority, Clement availed himself of what we shall call a " pious fraud." He ordered that the name of Sixtus should appear on the title page as the author, instead of his own; so that the public, which generally does not examine these features too closely, was led to believe that his (the Clementine) Bible was that of Sixtus. The Preface to the Clementine edition was written by Bellarmino, who artfully informed the reader that just as the Sistine edition was about to be issued, Sixtus V had noticed several errors and had ordered that edition to be withdrawn and a new one to be prepared. Bellarmino also stated that the death of Sixtus had prevented this being done, but that Clement VIII was carrying out the intentions of Sixtus.—It should be noted here, as

a fact worthy of attention, that the Sistine edition contains not more than about forty printers' errors, whereas the Clementine edition differs from the Sistine in about three thousand places.[10]

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In Italy, the first versions of the Bible lead us back to the time when Latin was the language of the learned and the clerics, whilst Italian was that of the people. The name "Vulgate" for the popular edition of the Bible in Latin, therefore, became a misnomer, and a necessity very naturally arose for a translation of the Latin text, which the uncultured laymen no longer understood, into the spoken language. We possess few vague and uncertain indications of the very first translations. We know only this about them: that they were taken not from the originals but from the Vulgate; that they were generally the work of priests or friars, and that they appeared in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when movements were

[10] A Commission has been appointed by the Church authorities in Rome with a view to restoring the Vulgate of St. Jerome to its primitive text. Meanwhile, the Latin New Testament has already been published in very valuable critical editions by the B. and F. Bible Society jointly with the Oxford University Press, and by Dr. Eberhard Nestle of Maulbronn.

arising to protest against the Court of Rome.[11] These movements were led by men who vowed themselves to poverty in order to be better able to counteract the craving for worldliness, earthly power, and material riches which had invaded the Church. These heroic rebels against Rome drew all the inspiration, strength, and comfort they needed for their great work from the Bible. Professor S. Minocchi, in a valuable pamphlet on *The Bible in the History of Italy,* says: "The Old Testament was little liked by many; some sects of the Catharists believed it to be written by the Evil One, and considered it the Gospel of Satan as opposed to the Gospel of Jesus. Nevertheless, among the Waldenses and others, versions of its most noted and precious books, such as the Psalms, the book of those who suffer, pray, and hope, or the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, which are full of such deep wisdom and profound melancholy, were largely circulated. The New Testament was sought after, and so was spread about; and in its pages were found the condemnation of the Church of Rome and of its faulty clergy, and at the same time the hope of a religious revival among the

[11] Let it be sufficient to mention: the Catharists of North Italy (XII cent.), Pietro di Bruys (d. 1124), Amalrico di Bene (d. about 1207), Peter Valdo (d. 1197), the Patarenes (XII and XIII cent.).

people. The book of the Revelation, in the image of Babylon, gave them a picture of the horrors of the Church; in the New Jerusalem they viewed the Christian restoration, which they were longing for. The Epistles of St. Paul fascinated them by their deep religious feeling, their wisdom so profound, their thought so spiritually free, their description of customs so simple. The Acts of the Apostles gave them an insuperable model of a poor, virtuous, and happy life, such as that of the primitive Christians with their simple rites and with their having all things in common. But it was the Gospel, above all, that showed them, in the poor and humble figure of Jesus, the perfect ideal of true religious life, so different from that of the ostentatious pontiffs of Rome!" [12]

About the middle of the thirteenth century there appeared in Italy the first Italian version of the Bible. Whose work was it? Literary tradition has attributed it to one or other of the three great Dominicans, Jacopo da Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, Jacopo Passavanti, and Domenico Cavalca. Professor Minocchi calls that tradition "a triple hypothesis without any foundation." According to his views, the thirteenth century version of the

[12] Salvatore Minocchi: *La Bibbia nella Storia d'Italia.* Firenze, 1904.

Italian Bible " sprang, like many of the other old versions, anonymously, from the people who required a means of affirming the religious ideas born in them by the change that had taken place in their minds and conscience. But if we consider its intimate relationship with the contemporary heretical translations of France, Provence, and Savoy, we may safely believe that the first Italian version had its origin in some centres of the sect called the ' Poor of Italy '; and if we consider its phraseology, we may hold even more definitely, that it was issued by the Tuscan Patarenes." [13]

Professor Minocchi's opinion will not be considered altogether groundless when we bear in mind that it is not a fact, as some say, that the public was averse to the Bible and to reading it, in the century of Dante and those immediately preceding and following it. That the people did read and cherished the Bible is clearly shown by the Manuscripts of those days. " The Florentine Libraries alone," says Professor Minocchi, " possess more than fifty of them; and others are at Siena, Venice, and in other cities. . . . And all such Manuscripts had evidently their origin among the people. The Gospels in the San Marco Library in Venice were written by a poor prisoner

[13] *Ibid.*

from Trieste, who comforted himself in the gloomy silence of the 'Pozzi,' by copying them. Nearly all the Florentine manuscripts were copied by nobles, merchants, notaries, and artisans, for their own private use. In a ledger belonging to the celebrated family 'dei Ricci' is to be seen a transcription of the whole book of Genesis; other manuscripts bear names well known in the commercial aristocracy of the fifteenth century, such as Strozzi, Serragli, Vettori, Mellini, Baroni. Our good old ancestors, then, at any rate before the ducal yoke of the Medici fell on the neck of their children, read the Bible. Moreover, during the very years that Savonarola was condemning from his pulpit in S. Marco the paganism of the Renaissance in the name of the Bible for the freedom of his people, Lorenzo de' Medici, in the restful peace of Poggio a Caiano, was teaching his children to read the Gospels and the Psalms. That high-spirited sceptic, even in the midst of his wild revelry, had not forgotten the legacy of the Bible which his mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, had left him.'' [14]

In 1471 there appeared in Venice two editions of a translation by Nicolò Malherbi, a monk of Camaldoli. There is now no reason to doubt that

[14] *Ibid.*

he was no other than "an impudent plagiarist who was so audacious as not only to ill-use the golden version of the thirteenth century, but even to ascribe it to himself." [15]

We now come to the century of the Reformation. The Bible, which had been almost forgotten during and on account of the Renaissance, became again, in the sixteenth century, the book most sought after and the most read, as providing the greatest food for thought and meditation. Learned men read it in its Latin versions; the people returned eagerly to the search of the Italian version of the thirteenth century; and, therefore, complete or partial editions of the Bible multiplied in Florence and Venice. The thirteenth century version, however, was no longer able to supply the want of the times. The need of a new translation was deeply felt; and he who supplied this want in Italy was a Florentine man of letters: Antonio Brucioli, whose translation appeared in Venice in 1532. Brucioli, was a red-hot republican, highly gifted, and a skilled writer on sacred

[15] The first edition (by Wendelino da Spira, in August, 1471) was the more correct, and was published in a convenient size; the second edition (by Nicola Jenson in October, 1471), full of misprints but more correct where Wendelino's text had been followed, was the only edition issued; and it could not be otherwise, considering that it was of a large, most incommodious size, and therefore perfectly useless to the public.

subjects; he was for a long time recognised as a powerful champion of the religious reformation; but as he unfortunately recanted later, though much may be said in mitigation, a shadow was cast on his fame. "Had he remained steadfast," says Dr. G. P. Pons, who exhumed the record of his trial from the Archives of the "Frari" in Venice, "no one, better than he, would have honoured the Reformation."[16] Brucioli's version, which was based not on the originals but on the Latin version by Santi Pagnini[17] of Lucca, was revised by the Florentine Santi Marmocchino of the Preaching-friars, and by Filippo Rustici, a medical man from Lucca.[18] Fra Zaccaria of Florence, a Dominican friar, also published a New Testament; but this was only Marmocchino's version reissued under Fra Zaccaria's name.[19]

With the mention of the translations of the New Testament by Castelvetro (Lodovico Muratori's evidence on this point is open to doubt), by Massimo Teofilo, a Florentine,[20] and by several other anonymous translators, and by the two translations of the whole Bible by Giovanni Diodati and

[16] G. P. Pons: *Antonio Brucioli*, in *Rivista Cristiana*. Anno III, I° Serie. See E. Comba: *Intr. alla St. d. Rif. in Italia.*

[17] 1527. [18] S. Marmocchino, 1538; Ph. Rustici, 1562.

[19] 1542. [20] 1551.

Monsignor Antonio Martini, we come to the end of all that is of interest to us here.

As the translations of the Bible by Diodati and Martini are now the official translations in both the Italian Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, we are constrained to say something more about them.

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Let us hie in imagination to Lucca, the capital of the small Republic, which I have already mentioned in a previous chapter, and one of the Italian towns most influenced by the Reformation. The pious and learned Agostinian Pier Martire Vermigli [21] founded a School there, which he intended should have been to Italy what Wittenberg was to Germany.

In the autumn of the year 1541, there was great excitement in Lucca, which was awaiting the arrival of Pope Paul III and the Emperor Charles V. These, the two most powerful Sovereigns in the world, had arranged to meet there in order to discuss several matters of great importance. Among the most prominent of these were the Protestant revolution in Germany and the convocation of the Council of Trent so insistently

[21] 1500-1562.

demanded on all sides; moreover, the Turks were also at that time causing those crowned heads no little trouble.

The two potentates arrived at last, and were met by the head of the republic, Michele Diodati. On the 17th September, when Messer Michele had so much to attend to, Donna Anna, his wife, presented him with a son. Charles V and Paul III soon came to hear of this interesting event, and sent for the proud father.—"I wish to be his godfather, and the child to bear my name," said Charles. And Paul added: "I shall administer the sacrament."

Do you know who this Carlo Diodati became? A staunch Protestant, and the father of Giovanni, the translator of the Italian Protestant Bible. See the irony of human events! Neither the fact of being held at the baptismal font by an emperor hostile to the Reformation as Charles V was, nor the sacrament administered by a Pope such as Paul III, were sufficient to preserve Carlo Diodati and his posterity from the taint of heresy!

From the point of view of the Reformation, the visit of the Emperor and the Pope was a disaster to Lucca. Pier Martire Vermigli, first closely watched, had at length to flee; the School he had founded was broken up; and many who had

adopted the new ideas, after no little persecution, were obliged to leave their country. Carlo Diodati, when grown up, went to Lyons for instruction in commerce; there, the seed sown in his heart by Pier Martire, began to spring up. When the massacre of the Huguenots [22] struck all Protestant France with terror, Carlo fled to Geneva. There he openly declared his adherence to the reformed Church. He married twice, and by his second wife had seven children; Giovanni, the eldest, was born on the 3d June, 1576, and baptised by Niccola Balbani, also an exile from Lucca.

Giovanni Diodati at the age of 19 was already a Doctor in Divinity; at 21 he was Professor of Hebrew in the Genevan Academy. In 1603 he began to translate the Old and the New Testaments from the originals; in 1607 he published his translation at Geneva, which was republished soon after in a second edition, and in 1641 he issued a third edition with notes.

As soon as the version appeared, published at his own expense, which reduced him to utmost poverty, it was most favourably received by the best men of the time. Even those who criticised it pitilessly were, nevertheless, bound to recognise that it was a great and most valuable work,

[22] 1572.

even though the Old Testament was a better work than the New. There is no doubt about it, that it surpasses all the other Italian translations of the Bible. The Italian exiles immediately recognised its superiority, and began to make use of it, putting aside the versions by Malherbi, Massimo Teofilo, and Brucioli, which they had been using up to that time; and though it is not a fact that it is cited by the Accademia della Crusca for its classic language, as many have asserted, Cesare Cantù among others, yet it has at all times deserved the praise even of Roman Catholic critics, and of men such as Scaligero, Giordani, Cardinal Mai, and Monsignor Tiboni. Eight years after the publication of his translation,[23] Giovanni Diodati entered into his rest, at the age of seventy-three, mourned by all Geneva.

And now I come to the Roman Catholic translation by Monsignor Antonio Martini.

Martini was born at Prato in Tuscany on the 20th April, 1720.

He was Principal of the College of Superga, in Piedmont, when he issued his translations of the New and Old Testaments in 1769 and 1776 respectively. As Professor Minocchi says, "these simple dates cover a long and most deplorable

[23] 13th October, 1649.

history of envy, calumny and intrigue, by means of which many prelates and clerics, at Rome and Turin, tried their best to ruin the success of Martini's work and to throw him into the hands of the Holy Office." [24] On account of his noble work, Pius VI, urged by the strong recommendations of the House of Savoy, conferred on Martini the bishopric of Bobbio; and Martini was on his way to Rome to be consecrated, when the Grand Duke Leopold I of Tuscany stopped him, and succeeded in persuading him to accept the archbishopric of Florence; and there he died at the advanced age of eighty-nine years.

What was his purpose when he undertook the translation of the Bible? He has told it himself in the Preface to his work: "My purpose," he says, "has been to translate faithfully our Vulgate." And further on: "What I have aimed at is to prepare a strictly literal translation of the Vulgate, keeping, as far as possible, the same phrases, the same images, the same order of the words." Such was his plan. Whereas in Diodati's version the translation of the Old Testament is on the whole better than that of the New, so Martini's translation of the New Testament is

[24] See Cesare Guasti: *Storia aneddota del volgarizzamento dei due Testamenti, fatto dall' Ab. Antonio Martini*, in *Rassegna Nazionale*, 16 Sett. 1885, pp. 235-282.

better than that of the Old; and, as I have already stated that Diodati's translation is the best of all the ancient Italian translations taken directly from the originals, so I am bound to say that Martini's translation is one of the best of the Italian translations of the Vulgate. But the great drawback to a work such as that is that Martini translates from the Vulgate, which, as I have already shown, is far from being perfect; so that, even overlooking the many inherent defects of Martini's version, the fact remains that it is nothing but a good rendering of an imperfect translation. This is sufficient to show that, compared with Diodati's version, it is found to be greatly inferior.

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Since Martini's time endeavours have not been wanting to provide Italy with a version of the New Testament and portions of the Old more true to the original and more modern in language and expression. Attempts were made by G. B. de Rossi, Samuele David Luzzatto, David Castelli; Gregorio Ugdulena, Niccolò Tommaseo, Carlo Curci, Salvatore Minocchi; Alberto Revel, Giovanni Biava, Oscar Cocorda; but inasmuch as they were simply individual efforts, they did not

and could not succeed in ensuring for them the favour of the general public.

A strange, unexpected, and incredible event now occurred in the Church of Rome.

Let us trace the steps which led up to it.

In 1564 Pius IV, in order to check any possible attempt at a Reform movement in Italy, prohibited the reading of any version whatever of the Bible. In 1757, Benedict XIV,[25] to the great disgust of several bishops and cardinals, revoked the decree of Pius IV; but the revocation of Benedict became a dead letter under Clement XIII,[26] who succeeded him. He was a man of narrow and despicable views, intolerant of progress, and quite different to his predecessor. Martini had to wait until the pontificate of Clement XIV,[27] a pontiff of broad views and similar in this respect to Benedict, before he was able to begin his work. Martini's Bible was not popular; it was published in large unwieldy volumes, with long and wearisome explanatory notes, and in most editions with the Latin text in parallel columns. It was written in a polemic and apologetic spirit, more with the intention of commenting on the text than with

[25] 1740-1758. [26] 1758-1769.

[27] 1769-1774. The Pope who, on the 21st July, 1773, suppressed the Order of the Jesuits was Clement XIV (Lorenzo Ganganelli).

regard to clear and simple explanations. It, therefore, could not and did not become popular; and those who wished to read the Bible, in spite of clerical prohibition and prejudice, preferred Diodati's translation, which the British and Foreign Bible Society had put within their reach.

On the 27th April, 1902, a Society was formed, called *La Pia Società di San Girolamo per la diffusione de' Santi Vangeli* (The Pious Society of St. Jerome for the spread of the Holy Gospels). This Society, which took the name of the great author of the Vulgate, prepared and widely distributed a new translation of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The translation, in an easy and popular style, was the work of the Rev. Professor Giuseppe Clementi; the notes, concise, reverent, and without polemical intention, were by Padre Giovanni Genocchi of the Sacred Heart; the preface, clear and eloquent, which set forth with great moderation and exactness the Protestant principles relating to the authority of the Scriptures, and in which, perhaps for the first time since the Reformation, Protestants were called "our separated brethren," was by Padre Giovanni Semeria, a Barnabite; the indexes, five in number, were by Padre Giuseppe Valdambrini. This nice little volume, printed at the Vatican press

and adorned with six engravings, contained, immediately after the preface, the beautiful passage out of *The Imitation of Christ* referring to *the spirit in which the Holy Scriptures should be read,*[28] and added *some reminders* and instructions regarding the *reverent perusal of the Holy Gospel.*

It seemed as if the Society could not have commenced its work under better auspices. More than two hundred bishops signified their approval of it, and many promised their assistance. Leo XIII granted an Indulgence of three hundred days to the faithful who read the Gospel for at least a quarter of an hour a day, and plenary Indulgence once a month, on a day to be selected, to those who, for the space of one month, had dedicated a quarter of an hour daily to this reading. Later on, Pius X[29] granted plenary Indulgence on the feast day of St. Jerome[30] to all those who in any way whatever belonged to the Pious Society. After three years of activity the Society had circulated 300,000 copies of the Gospels in popular editions, first at 20 centimes and then at 25 per copy; and to facilitate the circulation still more, it published the Gospels of St. Matthew and of St.

[28] Book I, Chap. V.
[29] August 28th, 1903.
[30] 30th September.

Luke singly, at 5 centimes the copy. Moreover, to render the inspired writings more useful to the pious reader, it underlined many of the passages which place in high relief the fundamental doctrines and moral principles of Christianity. In 1907 the 880th thousand of these books was issued from the Vatican printing press, and with the 100th stereotyped edition in 1908, the number cannot have fallen short of a million.

It must not be concluded, however, that everything went smoothly. The little volume, in its general aspect, with its index of passages from the Old Testament quoted in the New; with its little Concordance and synoptic tables, its underlined verses, its illustrations, and its price, savoured too much of Protestantism not to be unpalatable to some. The usual atrabilious press fell upon it, and began to denounce the Society of St. Jerome as one whose object was "a new and suspicious kind of propaganda." There is nothing more interesting, or rather nothing more contemptible and more sad to witness, than what went on behind the scenes in the Society of St. Jerome. There, in the background, the iniquitous conspiracy was woven by the eternal enemies of Truth, which was to extinguish a Society begun so auspiciously and with such promise of a glorious future. It was not

enough that the unfortunate Society should be presided over by a cardinal, nor that its meetings should be held in the Vatican; the Curia, as soon as it perceived that the fortunes of the Society were going to be very different from what it had expected, became diffident and nervous, and soon found a way of ridding itself of an institution whose birth it had blessed, but which had been so ill-advised as to disturb its placid slumbers; and this, you may be sure, was done without compromising its own authority, or the signatures of Lepidi and Ceppetelli, who had given their "imprimatur." It began by amending, touching up, correcting, and lopping in its own way all the work the Society of St. Jerome had done. Later on, and little by little, some of the notes disappeared, some were mutilated, and others were added to, so that they might mean what they had not been intended to mean. The admirable phrase "our separated Protestant brethren" so Christian in spirit, which aroused so much enthusiasm, and at the same time gave the good Padre Semeria no little trouble, was cancelled. Every allusion which the annotator had made to the Greek text was ruthlessly expunged, and every breath of criticism or of independent opinion that appeared in the notes, was suffocated. Finally, in the last

edition of the book, a little "Manual of Prayers" was added, containing the Mysteries of the Holy Rosary, the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin, several invocations to Mary and to St. Joseph, and a large number of ejaculatory prayers, intended as an antidote to eternal perdition, for those who, peradventure, might have been poisoned by reading the pure and simple Gospel! With its inquisitorial censure the Curia sought to render the work of the Society of St. Jerome innocuous, and at the same time dug its grave and kept it ready.

The end of the sad story can be told to-day in a few words. The Society of St. Jerome has not been dissolved by any express official act, but it has, nevertheless, been dissolved. The Curia has not killed the Society directly, but has so managed that it should expire gradually, slowly, and of itself. The noble members of the "Pious Society" have dreamt a beautiful dream, and nothing more; they have learned by painful experience that the Curia fears a reawakening of the people's conscience, and, therefore, does not desire the free circulation of the Gospel of Christ.

* * *

Has the history of the Bible in Italy been closed with this gloomy chapter?

No, God be thanked, another chapter has just opened; a chapter as full of light and hope as that of the Society of St. Jerome was full of shadows and disappointment.

The ideal vanished with the Society of St. Jerome, has been revived in another Society under the name of *Fides et Amor* (Faith and Love), and founded by laymen actuated by a Catholic spirit, in the fullest sense of the word; that is: non-sectarian and truly universal.

The *Fides et Amor* was founded on the same day, but seven years after the Society of St. Jerome; that is: on the 27th April, 1909. Its aims and organisation may be gleaned from the following extracts from its Statute:

(1) A Society under the name of *Fides et Amor* has been constituted in Italy. It is independent of any church or religious associations, and has its seat in Rome.

(2) The Society has not as its object the special interests of any particular church, but aims at *the triumph of the Kingdom of God through the spread of the Gospel of Christ* in Italy and in countries where the Italian language is spoken.

(3) The Society welcomes, as members, all Christian believers without distinction of names.

By the efforts of this Society the religious lit-

erature of Italy has already been enriched by an important addition: the translation of the whole of the New Testament. This translation is from the original Greek, and it marks, therefore, an important advance over that of Monsignor Martini, who, as we know, translated from the Vulgate. It is in modern, living language, and is, therefore, far ahead of that of Giovanni Diodati, whose translation dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The translation is enriched with notes, which are neither polemic, nor parenetic, nor one-sided, but simply explanatory of the text; and on this account it may be said to have taken up and completed the work left unfinished by the "Pious Society of St. Jerome," but in a wider and more independent spirit than that which was permitted to the Pious Society. Each of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament is preceded by a concise preface, rich with information relating to the authors, authenticity, date, and place where each was written, and its first readers. The volume, the first of its kind in Italy, is nicely bound in cloth, has two good maps, is printed in clear type on good paper, and only costs lire 1.20 in Italy, and lire 1.50 abroad.

One of the appeals of the Society closes with these words: "This is a solemn hour. A wave of

the Eternal Spirit is passing over Italy. Minds are opened, consciences feel new religious and moral needs, which Science is unable to satisfy. Only the Christ of God has the power to satisfy them; and our aim, in issuing this New Testament, is solely to put the Italian conscience into immediate contact with 'Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.'"

The possibility of a society such as this, is not a utopian idea, but is, on the contrary, a reality. This has already been proved by facts. The *Fides et Amor* includes already Roman Catholic priests and laymen, members of the Greek Orthodox Church, and Protestants. The volume already referred to has been cordially accepted by the best-known literary men of Italy; the liberal press has reviewed it very favourably, and, in spite of the thunderbolts hurled against it by the Jesuitical press, it is courageously and serenely making its way throughout the cities and the countries of Italy.

That the times are not yet altogether ripe for a society such as the *Fides et Amor,* is unfortunately too well proved by the 5th article of the Statute, which runs thus: "If necessary, names of members are recorded in cipher, and the

roll of membership is kept only by the President." In other words: men belonging to the three great branches of Christianity are not allowed to study together, to think and to believe in full communion of spirit and to love each other fraternally, except in secret. To do so openly, especially in the case of members of the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches, is to run the risk of censure from the ecclesiastical authority on which they depend. This is sad indeed, but the fact that a Society such as the *Fides et Amor* is possible and does exist, is more than a symptom, it is a guarantee that the past is gone forever, and is also an assurance that the light of Truth which is already spreading on the tops of the mountains will not be long in penetrating the whole valley to gladden it with its rays full of brightness and life.

* * *

The time has come to furl our sails.

In these our times when so many in Italy take pleasure in extolling everything that is foreign to the detriment of all that is genuinely national, it is dear to me, in concluding, to draw attention to one of Italy's glories which she herself has completely forgotten.

While biblical studies were widely and so earnestly cultivated in countries beyond the Alps during the sixteenth century as to lead up to the Protestant Reformation, it must not be supposed that these studies were ignored and neglected in Italy at or before that period.

It is well known that after the invention of printing,[31] Italy, about the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, even in the printing of the sacred text took the lead, although later on she was surpassed. Nothing would be more instructive than to take up the early history of the art of printing in Italy, to watch its progress, to learn of its early vicissitudes in the heart of the Italian Jewish colonies, and to trace the connection between the printing of the Hebrew sacred text and the development of the study of the Semitic languages. It would be most interesting to visit, in spirit, convent cells and the sumptuous palaces of bishops and other high dignitaries of the Church, and thus surprise friars, bishops, and cardinals absorbed in the study of God's Word at the time when the pagan Pope Leo X was enjoying the obscenities of Machiavelli's *Mandragora,* and his secretary Cardinal Bembo, in writing to a colleague, Sado-

[31] 1436.

leto, said: "Do not read the Epistles of St. Paul, lest his barbarous style should corrupt your taste; leave those trifles (*ineptiæ*) alone; they are not worthy the attention of a serious scholar."

But I must not allow myself to be carried away by these researches, however fascinating and important they may be. I must limit myself only to a few but momentous facts.

The first printed Hebrew Psalter was issued in Italy in 1477; the first printed Hebrew Bible appeared at Soncino, a town of the Cremona Province, in 1488; and we know that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament which Martin Luther had under his eyes when preparing his classical translation, was the third edition of a text issued in Brescia. In 1518 Daniele Bomberg had already published, in Venice, editions of the Bible and Rabbinical Commentaries which form a glorious chapter in the history of Italian printing; and by the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, Italy took pride in many Orientalists of no little renown. The first edition of the Septuagint, that is to say, of the Greek version of the Old Testament, was incorporated in the famous Complutensis [32] of Alcalà; but when the

[32] *Complutum* is the Latin name for *Alcalà* in Spain (Province of Madrid). As the monumental work to which I am alluding

Complutensis, although already printed, had not yet been published, Andreas Asolanus, father-in-law of the elder Aldus Manutius, issued from the Venetian Aldine press a complete edition of the Greek Bible, in February, 1518.[33] In 1527 Santi Pagnini of Lucca published a Latin translation of the Bible, after having spent twenty-five years of his life in preparing it; but already in 1560 the nuns of Ripoli, near Florence, had issued a beautiful printed edition of the Gospel of St. John; and in 1471 the anonymous translation of the thirteenth century, which has already been referred to, appeared, and ran through nine editions in the fifteenth century and twelve in the sixteenth. One of these editions, that of 1490, was illustrated by Bellini and Sandro Botticelli. In 1542 Isidoro Clario, Abbot of Monte Cassino, published the Vulgate, following the best Manuscripts, and enriched it with a preface and notes; a work, which had the honour of ecclesiastical censure and mutilation, because the worthy Abbot had committed two great sins: he had dared to correct the Vul-

was printed there (1502-1517, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros), it was called the *Complutensis;* that is to say: *printed at Alcalà.*

[33] The Complutensis, although prepared before, had the approval of the Pope only in 1520, and was only issued four years after (1522) that Aldine edition.

gate and had openly admitted having done so, and had also embodied in his notes extracts from Protestant commentaries. In those days, as Tiraboschi remarks, "to quote from a Protestant work was a crime worthy of capital punishment." Not so now, when Roman Catholics freely and with impunity plunder the works of Protestant authors.

What I have related, corroborated by the fact of the existence and circulation of several other Italian translations of the Scriptures such as those of Antonio Brucioli,[34] Santi Marmocchino,[35] Fra Zaccaria,[36] Massimo Teofilo,[37] Filippo Rustici,[38] shows us clearly that in the century of the Reformation the Book of Books, the light of the soul and the message of spiritual liberty, was freely circulated also in Italy, and was loved not only in convents and in the palaces of bishops and cardinals, but also by the nobility and people of all classes.

I have already pointed out in a previous chapter how it was that so many bright hopes which sprang in Italy in that glorious age, were followed by so much tragic, bitter, and disheartening disappointment. Here, I will only say that the angel of liberty has already removed the principal

[34] The New Testament: Venice, 1530. The whole Bible in 1532.
[35] 1538. [36] 1542. [37] 1551. [38] 1562.

causes that have hindered the Bible from bearing in Italy the fruit that it has brought forth in other lands; so that it is quite reasonable to predict that the present revival of biblical studies and preoccupations which cheer all true lovers of the welfare of that great country, will no longer be threatened with destruction by the storm of persecution, but, caressed by the breeze of a true renaissance of Christian faith, will bring to maturity an abundance of "abiding" fruit.

A great mission is entrusted to the Bible in Italy: To gather together all those who are languishing for want of the Divine; to enamour the people of Italy of noble and holy ideals, and to point out to that young but strong and glorious nation the way that leads to that moral greatness, without which any other kind of greatness is almost altogether unavailing and worthless.

IV

THE ISRAEL OF THE ALPS

IV

THE ISRAEL OF THE ALPS

A SPECIAL chapter is due to the "Israel of the Alps," as the Waldenses have rightly been called. From the point of view of history, they are the oldest Protestant body in Christendom; and geographically, with regard to their position in the classic land of Papacy, they are in the van of European Protestantism.

* * *

What about the origin of this people? John Milton describes the Waldenses as having kept God's

> ". . . truth so pure of old
> When all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones";

and, as Professor E. Comba has shown, that is the legend which has arisen to make up for the silence of history, and which has enamoured poets. Today history speaks, legends vanish, and the calm and serene language of facts takes the place of poetry.

In the first chapter we already noted that at a

very early date, especially in the North of Italy, energetic protests against the superstitions and the thirst for earthly power of Rome were not wanting; and we have certainly not forgotten the names of Jovinian, Vigilantius, Claudius of Turin, and Arnold of Brescia.

Soon after the martyrdom of Arnold, a man arose, whom Providence had called to gather together all the dispersed remnants of the different protests which had preceded him, and which Papacy had done its best to crush pitilessly. The name of that man was Peter Valdo.[1] Where he came from, nobody exactly knows; we know, however, that he was born about 1140, that he was a merchant, that he settled down in Lyons, that he was married, had two daughters, and that he became well-to-do.

On a warm summer day in 1173 he was conversing on the threshold of his house with some friends, when one of them suddenly fell down dead at his feet. Valdo, as soon as he was alone, put himself this question in his grief: "If I, instead of him, had been so suddenly called before my Supreme Judge, what would have become of me?" Some time afterwards, whilst the impres-

[1] The best authorities on this subject are: E. Comba: *Histoire des Vaudois. Storia dei Valdesi.* Jean Jalla: *Histoire des Vaudois des Alpes.*

sion of that scene was still fresh in his mind, he stopped one Sunday to listen to a minstrel who was singing the ballad of St. Alexis to a crowd which had gathered. This Roman noble, said the ballad, abandoned his spouse, his relations, his position and riches on his wedding day, in order to go as a pilgrim to the Holy Land. When he came back nobody knew who he was, and so he concealed his name; but when he died he was recognised by a mark on his body, just in time for his remains to be honoured by a solemn funeral. His relations comforted themselves with the thought that he was blessed and glorified in heaven.

This beautiful example of a man giving up a brilliant position to please his God moved the worthy merchant of Lyons, and he was led to ask a divine: "Which is the safest way to reach perfection?" The divine, following Roman casuistry, pointed out to him several ways. At last, as Valdo insisted on knowing the safest of all, the passage was quoted to him: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow Me."[2] The direction was clear, and Valdo followed it. He gave back every-

[2] Matthew xix. 21.

thing that he had gained unjustly; what remained he divided into two parts: houses and estates formed one part; commercial goods and ready money, the other. His wife, whom he left free to choose, chose houses and grounds. Out of the other part he provided for his daughters, whom he sent to be educated in the famous Abbey of Fontevrault in Poitou, and gave the rest to the poor. A famine was raging in Lyons; Valdo ordered a regular distribution of food to be made three times a week; and while providing for the bodies, he gave to the souls the "bread of life" and preached them the Gospel through which he himself had found peace. Helped by two priests, Stephen d'Ansa, who translated from the Latin, and Bernard Ydros, who copied, he was able to possess several copies of not a few of the books of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. These books he read and distributed to the people, always accompanying the distribution with a word of exhortation.

Such was the beginning of the Waldensian mission, and it was started by a layman. Opposition from the ecclesiastical authorities could not fail to manifest itself; Archbishop Guichard of Lyons forbade his preaching, asserting that only churchmen had the right to do so. Peter Valdo an-

swered: "We ought to obey God rather than men."[3] And being threatened with expulsion from the Church, he appealed to the Third Lateran Council, which had already been convoked in 1179. The Council denied to the Waldenses—that is to say, to Valdo and his disciples whom he used to send two by two into countries and towns to evangelise—the right to preach without the approval of the clergy in every place where they stopped. This decided the Waldenses to separate from Rome. As they continued preaching notwithstanding the veto of the Council, the new Archbishop of Lyons, Jean de Belle-mains, in 1182, expelled them from his diocese. The following year, the Council of Verona excommunicated them together with other groups of Christians who had severed themselves from Rome.

It will now be worth while to stop a moment to investigate how the Waldenses, at this point of their history, stood as far as their religious convictions and ecclesiastical organisation were concerned.

People called them *Valdesii, Valdesi, Vaudès,* after the name of their leader Valdo; they were also called the "Poor of Lyons," because they felt bound to give up all riches and to live in poverty,

[3] Acts v. 29.

according to the precepts of the Gospel, as was the case in all movements of reaction against Rome between the twelfth and the thirteenth century. They were pledged to the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. They refused to accept Purgatory, or the gross practices that Romanism had inherited from paganism, and the worship of the saints and the Virgin, although they regarded the mother of Jesus with exceptional respect. They retained confession, but the formula of absolution was not: "I absolve thee," but "May God absolve thee from all sin." The penance they imposed was fasting and the repetition of the Lord's Prayer. Lying was prohibited in all forms and under all pretexts. They held capital punishment to be contrary to the Scripture, and refused to take an oath.

The Waldensian community, which assumed the name of "Brotherhood," was composed of *deacons, presbyters,* and *bishops.* Very probably, however, these two last offices were one and the same; at any rate, the office of bishops ceased to exist. They had a yearly *Capitulum,* which later on became a *Synod;* it elected a *Rector* and a *Coadjutor.* All office-bearers in the church were, therefore, chosen by election. The presbyters were usually called *Barbi,* a name which means

Uncle, and even nowadays is used in the Waldensian valleys and in other parts of Italy as a term of respect to persons not belonging to the same family circle. Where they were sufficiently numerous, they maintained a Home, called *Hospice,* kept by a Rector and by some aged women. There they entertained the travelling brethren and worshipped in secret. The order of their worship was very simple. They read or recited the Word of God, which they knew for the greater part by heart, and expounded it in a practical and popular manner. They sang only in private, so as not to be heard and discovered by the enemies to their faith, and they never administered the sacraments; when these were needed, they had recourse to the Roman Catholic priests.

Such were the general lines of the doctrine and organisation of the Waldensian church in the Middle Ages.

After the banishment of the Waldenses from Lyons nothing certain is known about Valdo; but the Waldenses, after their expulsion, followed the way which had been prepared by the Catharists, called Albigenses in the South of France, and Patarenes in Italy.[4] We find them united with the Catharists in almost every country in Europe:

[4] See Chap. I, Note 60.

Provence, Languedoc, Spain, England, Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Saxony, Bohemia, Austria, Italy, Greece, and Constantinople. But in Italy their union was even closer with the movement known as the "Umiliati" (the Humble) or "Poor of Lombardy," which was contemporary with and had the same objects as theirs. Being thus united, they enjoyed for a certain period the protection of the Milanese authorities, and were enabled to open a public school in Milan. On account of dissensions which occurred, the Waldenses who settled in Lombardy separated from those beyond the Alps, in 1205. In a Conference held at Bergamo in 1218 the two Waldensian branches tried to come to an agreement, but this was not possible. The Waldenses beyond the Alps and those of Lombardy, therefore, continued their missionary work independently, not, however, without keeping in brotherly touch with each other. And though we shall not entirely lose sight of the Waldensian branch beyond the Alps, we are here obliged to limit ourselves to following the Lombard branch, which had settled eventually in the Cottian Alps.

What induced them to go there?

Several things: the configuration of the country, well adapted as a natural fortress of religious

freedom; the greenness and fertility of the Italian side of the Alps, so different to the arid and rocky conditions on the other side; lastly, the good-nature of the inhabitants; simple folk, imbued with genuine Christian piety, born and nurtured in the atmosphere of the followers of Claudius of Turin and, perhaps, also of Pierre de Bruys,[5] who very likely had sought and found their refuge there, when harassed by persecution.

The valleys of the Cottian Alps, where the Waldenses found refuge, are about one hour and three-quarters distant, by rail, from Turin. The valleys are numerous, as any one who knows an Alpine district can well imagine; but there are three principal ones—the valley of the Pellice, the valley of Angrogna, and the valley of San Martino.—In those valleys, round the little huts hidden amidst rocks and chestnut-trees, the sublime memories of the Waldensian church still clung.

Let us, in imagination, go through these three valleys, just a hurried visit, but sufficient to enable

[5] The legend says that St. Paul and St. James on their way to Spain passed through those Alpine valleys, where they planted the Christian faith. Claudius of Turin (d. 839). See Chap. I, Note 55. Piero di Bruys for twenty years (1104-1124) fought against the errors of Rome, more especially in Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc. He was at times too violent; for instance, when he caused all crucifixes to be destroyed by fire in the public squares. He was burnt at Saint-Gilles, Gard, by a furious mob at the instigation of the priests (1130).

one to obtain an idea of the chief places of interest.

The railway line from Turin passes through Pinerolo, climbs towards the Alps, and ends at Torre Pellice. Here you look up at the peak before you which rises from the shoulder of the Vandalino, and you see Castelluzzo; opposite and lower down the slope, are the ruins of a fort. Both of these places have holy and touching memories of heroism and tears. Here, on the plain, between the mountain and the slope, is the fruit of that heroism and of those tears—the modern Waldensian church. Further on, ascending the course of the torrent Pellice which gives its name to the valley, you reach Villar; and at the end of the valley is Bobbio.

To enter the second valley, that of Angrogna, a return to Torre Pellice is necessary; and as you go along the torrent, look up; there, behind the mountain opposite, is Rorà, the birthplace of Janavel, the Gideon of the Israel of the Alps, the man of iron temper sanctified by God's grace. You enter the valley of Angrogna, and ascend the torrent which gives its name to the valley. A few hours will suffice to explore it all; but what hours! Every spot here has its story, every rock has a stain of blood, upon every stone is inscribed

the name of a hero. Here is the oldest church in the valleys; here are the Waldensian Catacombs; here is Cianforan, which we shall have to speak of further on; here is Pra del Torno, with its holy memories of the "Barbi," which in themselves are a poem.

To reach the third valley, those who do not care to cross the mountains, must return to Pinerolo, and take the tramway to Perosa. At Perosa we leave the road leading to Fenestrelle on the right, and enter, on the left, the valley of St. Martino. This valley is traversed by three streams, which pour their waters into the Chisone at Perrero, and go by the names of the Germanasca of Prali, of Salza, and of Massello. Here also historical memories abound, which centre in two heroic names: the Balsiglia and Prali; two places which we shall shortly have to come back to.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Waldenses in their Alpine refuge were continually molested and persecuted by the princes of Savoy and by the papal inquisitors. In 1393, the Inquisition burnt alive 280 Waldenses in the Dauphiny valleys. On Christmas eve of 1400 the persecutors crossed the mountains that divide the valley of Susa from that of the Chisone, and fell on those poor mountaineers, who, completely sur-

prised, fled to the snowy heights of the Albergian, where they passed the whole night in bitter cold, while their aggressors made merry in the homes they had abandoned. At dawn many of the eighty mothers who had started with a child in their arms, were pressing to their bosoms only a poor little frozen corpse.

These two centuries, during which the Inquisitors never ceased to shed the blood of and squeeze money from the wretched Waldenses, lead us to the terrible crusade proclaimed in 1487 by the infamous Innocent VIII, which, in 1488, sowed terror, misery, and death throughout the valleys of the Dauphiny. Whilst, however, the angel of death was passing through the valleys beyond the Alps, the Waldenses on the Italian side were extending themselves and pitching their tents in the very south of Italy, where they founded colonies,[6] of which the most important, about the middle of the fourteenth century, were those in Calabria, where they established themselves first near Montalto not far from Cosenza; afterwards, at San

[6] About the middle of the fourteenth century the Waldenses also founded colonies in Provence. In the first years of the sixteenth century there were in Provence not less than 10,000 Waldensian or Lutheran homes, where 23 Barbi, at least, preached the Gospel. This colony was exterminated by fire, plunder, and torture in 1545.

Sisto and La Guardia. The Waldenses in these colonies were visited regularly by the pastors from the valleys, and were not only persevering in their faith, but were also shining lights amidst the darkness of the country they inhabited. One of their pastors is especially recorded in history: Giovanni Lodovico Pascale, who, on the 15th September, 1560, died at the stake in Rome, in Piazza di Ponte St. Angelo. A year later the Inquisitors of Rome had suffocated in blood those flourishing colonies, and were able to boast of having extirpated heresy from Calabria.

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* *

But let us not anticipate events; another important fact calls our attention here: that of the relation between the Waldenses and the Reformation.

First of all, let us inquire: What about the belief and the organisation of this people on the eve of the Reformation?

At the very end of the Angrogna valley, at Pra del Torno, there was a school for those who desired to prepare themselves for the ministry. Those who frequented it, for the most part, were adults, from twenty-five to thirty years of age. They attended the school during three or four

months in winter; then, when the snow disappeared, they went back to their work in the fields. The "curriculum" lasted three or four winters. In the school they studied only one book: the Bible, which they learnt, as far as possible, by heart, and copied for their own benefit and for that of the people. They earned their daily bread by carrying on a trade or a profession. Some of them practised medicine; others were pedlars. John G. Whittier, the American poet, who felt so deeply the sorrows and the joys of his country and the poetry of all things truly human and truly beautiful, was attracted by the ideal image of the wandering Waldensian pedlar, and thus described him in beautiful verse, full of exquisite harmony and Christian sentiment:

THE VAUDOIS TEACHER

"O Lady fair, these silks of mine are beautiful and rare,—
The richest web of the Indian loom, which beauty's queen might wear;
And my pearls are pure as thy own fair neck, with whose radiant light they vie;
I have brought them with me a weary way,—will my gentle lady buy?"

The lady smiled on the worn old man through the dark and clustering curls
Which veiled her brow, as she bent to view his silks and glittering pearls;

And she placed their price in the old man's hand and lightly turned away,
But she paused at the wanderer's earnest call,—"My gentle lady, stay!

"O lady fair, I have yet a gem which a purer lustre flings,
Than the diamond flash of the jewelled crown on the lofty brow of kings;
A wonderful pearl of exceeding price, whose virtue shall not decay,
Whose light shall be as a spell to thee and a blessing on thy way!"

The lady glanced at the mirroring steel where her form of grace was seen,
Where her eye shone clear, and her dark locks waved their clasping pearls between;
"Bring forth thy pearl of exceeding worth, thou traveller grey and old,
And name the price of thy precious gem, and my page shall count thy gold."

The cloud went off from the pilgrim's brow, as a small and meagre book,
Unchased with gold or gems of cost, from his folding robe he took!
"Here, lady fair, is the pearl of price, may it prove as such to thee!
Nay, keep thy gold—I ask it not, for the Word of God is free!"

The hoary traveller went his way, but the gift he left behind
Hath had its pure and perfect work on that highborn maiden's mind,
And she hath turned from the pride of sin to the lowliness of truth,
And given her human heart to God in its beautiful hour of youth!

And she hath left the grey old halls, where an evil faith had power,

The courtly knights of her father's train, and the maidens of her bower;
And she hath gone to the Vaudois vales by lordly feet untrod,
Where the poor and needy of earth are rich in the perfect love of God!

The candidates for the ministry, when they had finished their studies, spent a year or two in one of the Hospices, of which we have already spoken. There, in retirement and meditation, they waited for ordination by the Synod. Once ordained, they were admitted as *coadjutors* with an elder Barba, or *regidor*. And so, two and two, the Barbi went throughout Italy, France, and a part of Germany, confirming the brethren and preaching the Gospel to all those with whom they came in contact. These journeys lasted about two years. This itinerant ministry did not favour conjugal life, which they were not very anxious about, believing that celibacy was a holier state than matrimony. When stopping at a place, they visited each family and heard the confession of each individual. When there was a possibility of meeting for public worship, the two Barbi (the elder of whom always led the service) read or recited passages of the Scriptures, adding an explanation and some words of exhortation. In time of peace, they gathered together in the open air; in time of persecution, they met among the rocks and

in caves. Their doctrine was not altogether free from elements of Romanism, such as salvation through works, transubstantiation, though not in the gross, material sense held by the Romanists, penance after voluntary confession followed by absolution in the form I have already mentioned, celibacy, and baptism, which, as I have previously said, they did not administer themselves but left to be administered by the Roman priests. On the other hand, they rejected the mass as an expiatory sacrifice, purgatory, indulgences, the worship of the Virgin and saints, papal supremacy, and other novelties introduced into Christianity by Romanism. They considered the Bible as the only and sufficient basis of belief. In this last principle they were brought near to the Reformation; and it is clear that the influence of the Protestant revolution could not have been but beneficial to their religious convictions.

When, in the sixteenth century, the strong breeze of the Reformation began to be felt in Europe, Piedmont was the region of Italy which, on account of its geographical position, felt the effects of the innovating spirit most. The works of Luther, Melanchthon, and of other German reformers, translated into Latin and Italian, began to circulate among educated persons; and the peo-

ple at large came little by little to the knowledge of the new doctrines through the Waldensian Barbi and through the numerous German Protestants and Huguenots enlisted in the armies of Charles V and of Francis I.

But what attitude were the Waldenses to adopt "officially," if I may use the word, towards the new Reform movement?

That was to them a most pressing problem.

In order to be able to find a satisfactory solution, they all felt the necessity of precise and detailed information. And so, first in 1526, then in 1530, representatives of these peasants crossed their mountains, studied the movement on the spot, and returned with their reports. A solution of the problem was now quite possible; but only a General Synod had the power to pronounce a final decision; and as the elder and more influential among the Barbi were at that time in Calabria and in Puglie, the solemn assembly could only be convoked for the 12th September, 1532. Two Barbi were sent to Switzerland to invite to the Synod the reformers of Neuchâtel and Vaud, with whom, on account of their language, they had had more frequent intercourse than with German-speaking reformers. With the two messengers came back Saulnier, Olivetan, and Farel. The

Synod was held, on the appointed day, under the chestnut-trees of Cianforan in the Angrogna valley, and was attended by a large number of Barbi and by a crowd of people. After a long and heated discussion, all the articles proposed by the reformers were accepted. The conservative party, composed of ex-priests and of those who wished that absolutely nothing should be changed in the doctrinal and ecclesiastical Waldensian traditions, irritated by their discomfiture, went to Bohemia, where they made it widely known that the Waldenses had accepted the Reformation, and, to use their own words, that, "influenced by some foreign divines, they had left the religion of their fathers and had become renegades." The Bohemian churches sent them back to the valleys, the bearers of a letter in which they reproached their brethren of the Alps with great severity for their infidelity; but the Synod held at Prali in 1533 confirmed the decisions taken at Cianforan, and answered the brethren of Bohemia by showing them clearly that the two Barbi had completely misled them.

At the Synod of Cianforan it was also decided that a sum of "1,500 écus d'or" (equivalent to about $12,000) should be devoted to the propagation of the Holy Scriptures; and Olivetan, who

knew Greek very well and Hebrew still better, was charged to prepare a French translation. The Bible was, in fact, issued at Neuchâtel on the 4th of June with the date: "From the Alps: the 12th February, 1535," and at once took the place it deserved in the field of the French Reformation; a place which the superficial version of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, then in use, had never succeeded in securing for itself. Olivetan's translation, the Old Testament especially, which Professor E. Reuss defined as "a true masterpiece," is the block of "granite," says Professor Doumergue, "which perpetuates the features of the author more clearly and exactly than any statue." "And let us never forget," adds the learned Professor, in his monumental work on Jean Calvin, "that Olivetan's version was the Bible of our forefathers, the Bible read secretly in our families, meditated upon in prisons and in caves, burnt at the stake and on the 'Autos-da-fé.' No wonder copies of it have become so rare. How is it possible to turn over their leaves without being moved? Their pages, now so yellow, sum up all the piety and all the heroism of our fathers. Certainly, if Protestants preserved relics, those copies would of a surety be reckoned amongst the most valuable and precious."

Supported by the Reformation, the Waldenses began to build churches. About 1556 they had already erected seven. Rome raged, and the Pope induced the kings of France to persecute the Waldenses, who, between the French kings and the princes of the Hapsburg House, often at war with each other, found themselves in a very difficult position. The attacks they had to suffer by the troops under the Conte della Trinità of execrable memory, were especially terrible on account of cunning and cruelty. They enjoyed some respite after the peace signed at Cavour,[7] which, owing to the loyalty of Emanuel Filiberto, was signed in defiance of all the anger of Rome. But persecution soon broke out again; and it would be impossible here to relate all the scenes of bloodshed that took place one after the other up to the year 1630, when, in addition to all other troubles, a fearful scourge fell on them: the terrible pestilence, which Alessandro Manzoni has described in immortal pages,[8] and which brought to the valleys, as well as other places, desolation and mourning. All that seemed destined to be but the beginning of other calamities. On the ducal throne of the House of Savoy in Piedmont sat Charles Emanuel II, under the regency of his mother, Christina, daughter of

[7] 6th June, 1561. [8] A. Manzoni: *I Promessi Sposi.*

Henry IV and of Marie de' Medici; the country was convulsed with civil war, and the Waldenses armed themselves to serve their prince. But, alas, with what ingratitude were they repaid! On the 25th January, 1655, the Duke, who by that time had come of age, anxious to give an eloquent proof of his religious zeal, signed an unjust and cruel edict, by which all the Waldenses living in the territories of Torre, San Giovanni, Luserna, Bibbiena, and the neighbouring places, were ordered either to recant or to go into exile under the pain of death and forfeiture of all their goods. The Waldenses at once sent a deputation to the Court, but it was not received. Meanwhile, a ducal army of 15,000 men, partly French, partly Irish, and partly brigands, guided by friars, all under the command of the Marquis of Pianazza, fell on the unarmed peasants; and on the 24th of April, Easter Day, that abominable butchery known as "le Pasque Piemontesi" (Piedmontese Easter) began: the Waldenses resisted valiantly; two captains, Jahier and Janavel, proved themselves to be true heroes; but, alas, not even heroism was of any use against the overpowering number and the bloodthirstiness of a cruel enemy. The infamous outrages and terrible tortures inflicted on men, women, and children before their death can-

not be retold. Such as escaped, died in great numbers on the mountains where the snow was still deep, whilst the soldiers of the Roman Catholic church were setting fire to churches and houses, uprooting trees and vineyards, and reducing the whole country to a wilderness, strewn with naked and mutilated corpses. When the soldiers had satiated themselves with slaughtering, nailing up, and flaying their victims, they dragged those who remained into prison, for the purpose of giving up some to public execution for the benefit of the inhabitants in the plains, and of leaving the rest to die of hunger, in fetid jails. The children, dispersed all over Piedmont, were brought up in the faith of those murderers. A cry of horror arose from the valleys which was heard throughout all Europe; Cromwell intervened with threats; even Louis XIV interposed to stop the inhuman massacre, the memory of which Milton transmitted to posterity in his immortal sonnet:

"Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piemontese that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans

The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundredfold, who having learned thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

But Louis XIV, advanced in age, was getting anxious about securing absolution from the Church for his impure and scandalous life; and to make certain of getting it, he revoked the Edict of Nantes;[9] that is to say, he let loose the fierce fanaticism of the Church of Rome against Protestants. He did not want to have all the glory of such an iniquitous undertaking for himself; and, therefore, he asked Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy, to share it with him; and the Duke, on the 30th January, 1686, published an edict of persecution, in consequence of which blood flowed freely again in the valleys, 14,000 Waldenses were dragged into prison, 2,000 children were forcibly confined in houses and monasteries in order to be taught the Roman catechism, and a remnant of armed peasants had to go into exile. Of the 14,000 who were imprisoned, 11,000 perished of hunger, fever, and infection, in the darkness of their damp and pestilential jails. Of the surviving remnant only 2,500 arrived by the end of April, 1687, in hospitable Geneva, excluding about

[9] 22d October, 1685.

800 who, during that very severe winter, died of hunger and other sufferings, and marked with their corpses the " Via Crucis " of their exile.

But God was with that handful of heroes; and about three years later, on the night of the 15th and the 16th August, 1689,[10] they left the wood of Prangin, on the north bank of the Lake of Geneva, to return to their beloved land. They were about a thousand men in all, divided into twenty companies; among them were several hundred French refugees. They were led by Henri Arnaud, pastor and captain at the same time, following a plan drawn up by Janavel. How can I recall here all the glorious episodes of that march, which Napoleon I called the grandest military enterprise of the century?

On the 27th August they first set foot in their native country.[11] They were then reduced to 400; of the other 600, part had fallen in battle, or had been taken prisoners; and others, especially the French, had deserted, exhausted and discouraged

[10] The date referred to here is based on the Julian Calendar, which was then still in use among Protestants. (Some say: the night between the 16th and the 17th August, instead of the night between 15th-16th.) According to the Gregorian Calendar, which had by that time been adopted by Roman Catholics, the date would be: the night between 25th-26th (or, according to the statement of those already referred to: the night between 26th-27th).

[11] At the hamlet of Balziglia.

by the fatigues endured for a country that was not theirs. And, behold, there at last is Prali, at the foot of the Germanasca valley, the highest of the hamlets in all the valleys. There, Arnaud, the great leader, standing on a boulder, so as to be heard better, preached on some verses of the 124th Psalm. It was the first sermon heard by the Waldenses since their return to the land of their fathers; and the Lord so ordered it, that they heard it at Prali, whose saintly pastor had been captured in 1686, the year of the exile, while singing Psalms among the rocks, and had been taken to Luserna for his final sufferings. Not far from Bobbio, on the Pellice torrent, is Sibaud. There the repatriated exiles took the historical oath by which they engaged themselves to be true to each other, to honour God, to obey their superiors, and vowed to God "that they would snatch the rest of their brethren from the hand of cruel Babylon." One hour distant from the village of Massello is Balziglia, a hamlet overshadowed by the ruins of a castle on the slope of the mountain. There, the 400 heroes passed the winter, the severe winter of the high Alps, living in the midst of all kinds of privations; and when it looked as if man could do nothing more for them, God came to their rescue, by disclosing, when the first spring breezes began

to thaw the snow, fields of corn that the Savoyards had not been able to reap, and that had remained untouched under a white wintry mantle. There, the 400, reduced still further, strove against 12,000 soldiers of Victor Amadeus II and 10,000 of Louis XIV. There, this handful of heroes, when the French commander had sent to say to them: "Come and treat with us now, for it will be too late when the cannon roars," boldly replied: "If your cannon roars, our rocks will not be afraid, and we shall stop to listen!" There, a dense fog suddenly covered the Balziglia, and the besieged, concealed from the eyes of the enemy, got away safely when all seemed lost, to receive, freed from the jaws of the lion, the glad news that the Duke had broken his alliance with Louis XIV, and required their aid against the French.

The seventeenth century closed in the valleys with the splendour of this glorious "Return"; and the eighteenth dawned, bringing with it very little hope of liberty of conscience to the people. What could be hoped for when Victor Amadeus II, after having addressed Arnaud and his companions in the famous words: "If, as is your duty, you risk your lives in my service, I will risk mine for you; and as long as I have a piece of bread I will share it with you," renewed his friendship

with Louis XIV and made a treaty with him, whereby Arnaud and 2,300 of his companions, who had risked their lives for him, had to tread again the way to exile?[12] But even princes cannot with impunity break their promises! Thirty-four years later,[13] alone, deprived of his crown, almost out of his mind, after having exclaimed: "My son, my son! let me at least see my son again! . . ." in the same castle of Moncalieri where the above promise was made, Victor Amadeus expired without seeing his son again, and vainly asking from the set-

[12] The Waldenses and the French refugees, who had enrolled themselves in great numbers under the flag of Savoy, gallantly shed their blood in several battles between 1690 and 1697. Notwithstanding, the Duke, having made peace with the King of France, in order to gratify him, issued an edict on 1st July, 1698, expelling from Piedmont all Protestants born in France. On the strength of this iniquitous decree even Arnaud, who had then been living in the Waldensian valleys for more than thirty years, was forced into exile with 2,300 inhabitants of those mountain villages, and thirteen of their ministers. In the summer of 1699, almost all settled in Würtemberg and in Hesse. There they grouped themselves according to their native hamlets, founded villages, giving them the names of those in their beloved far-away country, and established Protestant churches. So that even to-day one finds in those States a population speaking German, but still bearing Waldensian names, and villages called Perosa, Pinasca, Villar, and so on, as in the Piedmontese valleys. And among those peasants whom he had twice led in search of a home-land, Arnaud passed away peacefully on the 8th September, 1721, at the age of eighty years. His memory is deservedly kept in great veneration among the Waldenses of Germany and those of Italy as well.

[13] 31st October, 1732.

ting sun the smile and the kiss which every evening for eleven years had gently rested on the tomb of Arnaud, in the little chapel of Schönenberg. What could be hoped for when Charles Emanuel III ordered a complete collection of the past edicts of oppression to be made, to remind the Waldenses, as it were, that it was in vain to hope for a little respite?

Putting aside the concessions enjoyed in the times of the French domination, and dearly paid for after the restoration, and excepting some occasional gracious act on the part of those in authority, who at times were more indulgent than the laws themselves, a few words will describe the wretched social condition of the Waldenses during the eighteenth century and up to the 17th February, 1848: Extraordinary taxes, demands for payment of old debts, missions by rapacious priests, prohibition of books connected with their worship and schools; their residence on the soil of the valleys barely tolerated, and always more or less insecure, at the will of the prince. The population increased, but the law forbade any extension in the limits of their country; outside the valleys no Waldensian could retain any possessions; and only surreptitiously a Waldensian could succeed in exercising his industry or carry

on commerce outside the valleys. All public posts were forbidden them, except that of Syndic; no one could become an advocate; three or four individuals alone, out of a population of more than 20,000, could be notaries; and if any one succeeded in becoming a doctor, he could only practise the healing art among his coreligionists. A Waldensian could be pressed in every imaginable way to change his religion; woe to him, however, if he spoke of his faith to a Roman Catholic. Roman Catholic churches could be multiplied *ad infinitum* in the valleys; but not an evangelical church could be added to those already in existence. Any slanderer could, at will, publish any kind of calumny regarding the faith, life, or person of a Waldensian; but it was made impossible for him to defend himself. And there was worse yet. A boy over twelve years, or a girl over ten, had the right to throw off all paternal authority on the pretext of wishing to become a Roman Catholic!

Such a state of things, at least, in the very middle of the nineteenth century, was evidently an anachronism, not to say an iniquity. A priest, Vincenzo Gioberti, writing a short time before the Edict of 1848, although he calls the Waldenses "heretics," yet is far from approving of their

treatment in the past. "That persecution was an error must be kept in mind," he wrote, "and we must remember this in order to inspire us to repair, as amply as possible, the wrongs committed by our forefathers."[14] And when the "Statuto" of the kingdom of Piedmont was announced, which in its first article declared the State religion to be Roman Catholic, and so left people in doubt as to whether non-Roman Catholics were to be granted full liberty or kept in slavery, the liberals themselves called loud and strong for the emancipation of the Waldenses and the Jews. Charles Albert received a petition covered with signatures, amongst the first of which were those of Roberto d'Azeglio, of Camillo Cavour, of Cesare Balbo, and of not a few members of the Roman Catholic clergy; in which petition the minister, Roberto d'Azeglio, said: "We submit to the wisdom of the King the advisability of a measure which, bringing our dissenting brethren within the shelter of the common laws, should cause the prohibitions, which exclude them from the rights of property and from honourable professions, to cease; so that, recognising by long experience the uselessness of proselytising by force and persecution, we may try to go forward in the way of

[14] Vincenzo Gioberti: *Del Primato morale e civile degli Italiani.*

charity and brotherhood, in the spirit of Catholic Truth."

The Government, in spite of the apprehensions of the clerical party, convinced that force and violence are inefficient custodians of religion, published on 17th February, 1848, the Edict of Emancipation, which runs as follows:

"CHARLES ALBERT

"BY THE GRACE OF GOD, ETC., ETC.

"Taking into consideration the loyalty and good-will of the Waldensian people, Our royal predecessors have by degrees, and with successive provisions, abrogated in part or moderated the laws which formerly restrained their civil powers. And We, following in their footsteps, have conceded to please Our subjects more ample facilities, granting them frequent and large dispensations in the observance of the said laws. Now that the motives which prompted these restrictions have ceased, the progressive system favourable to them can be completed, and We have resolved, with all good-will, to make them sharers in every advantage in keeping with the general maxims of Our legislation. And therefore in this Edict, with Our Royal Authority, and with the approval of Our ministry, We have commanded and do command the following:—The Waldenses are admitted to enjoy all the civil and political rights of Our subjects, to attend schools and universities, and to acquire academical degrees.

"Nothing is thereby altered in regard to the exercise of their religion and the schools conducted by them.

"We annul every law contrary to this one, which We send to Our Senate and to the Office to be registered, and to whomsoever is concerned in the observance of it, or in causing it to be observed; ordering that it should be inserted in the archives of State.

"CHARLES ALBERT, *etc.*"

On the proclamation of the Edict, the palaces of the English and Prussian Embassies, and the houses of the Waldenses and other coreligionists in Turin, were illuminated as if by magic.

In the valleys of Pinerolo there were great rejoicings; addresses were delivered, hymns sung, bonfires lighted. More than a hundred fires crowned Castelluzzo and Vandalino. Every breast was adorned by the blue cockade, and on the roads they sang the new songs of liberty and eulogised King Charles Albert and Italy.

At Turin the public rejoicings attained a national importance. Roberto d'Azeglio himself was the promoter of a demonstration on Sunday, 27th February, to celebrate the proclamation of the *Statuto* even before it came into effect.[15]

From the Saturday, Turin was in a commotion. Groups of citizens awaited at the gates of the town those who were arriving from the country and province; and at every meeting the manifestations of joy and enthusiasm were renewed. Hands were clasped amidst embraces, kisses, tears; and at the same time the air resounded with joyous songs, saluting the sudden appearing of the angel of freedom and peace.

[15] The *Statuto* was promulgated on the 4th March.

The night was short, and when the gun from the castle announced that the new day had risen, all Turin was on foot, and the streets, which for a few hours had been deserted, were crowded anew. At nine o'clock, on the "Campo di Marte," there appeared, pouring out of the streets, the numerous companies which composed the procession. There were those from Sardinia, Liguria, Nice, Savoy; all the provinces of Piedmont were represented with great standards at their head and thousands of small banners behind; bands played martial music interspersed with the singing of national hymns, and often drowned by the "Evvivas" of the excited populace.

The streets through which the procession was to pass, were in holiday dress; everywhere tapestries, garlands, inscriptions, and a sea of banners. But the centre of the display was the "Piazza Castello." On the balcony of the palace was the Queen with her ladies and a group of officers; in front, in a semicircle, between the balcony and the castle, was the King on horseback with the princes at his side, and all round a crowd of generals and of illustrious and powerful personages. The people could not be numbered; they were everywhere —in the square, at the windows, on balconies, on roofs, and even on the towers of the castle. An

immense spectacle, grand, indescribable! Those who saw it have never forgotten it.

And here comes the procession. As each deputation passes, a resounding "Evviva" comes from thousands of throats. One banner among the others attracts the attention of all. On an azure ground was an inscription surmounted by the royal arms; the inscription was: *To Charles Albert from the grateful Waldenses.* About six hundred men followed that banner. By a delicate thoughtfulness on the part of those who arranged the festival, so that in this day of common gladness the Waldenses might no longer remember the humiliations endured for so many centuries, their banner was given the place of honour, at the head of the corporations of the capital.—"They have been last long enough," the organisers of the cortège said;—"let them be first this time!"

At the Campo di Marte, the Genoese deputation had tendered them their congratulations on the freedom obtained; and in those very streets where the name "Waldensian" had only been heard coupled with insults and opprobrium, one cry alone was raised when the six hundred passed along: "Long live our Waldensian brothers! Hurrah for the Emancipation of the Waldenses!"

The banner passed before the students, and a

frantic cry was raised: "Long live liberty of conscience! Long live liberty of worship!" and to that cry the other responded: "Long live our Waldensian brethren!" While their Waldensian brethren passed, hands grasped theirs, and more than one of these young men broke through the ranks and threw himself upon the neck of these grave mountaineers, whose voices were so choked with emotion that they could only reply by tears of recognition. Who could tell what emotion the six hundred felt when, reaching the balcony of the Palace, they found themselves suddenly in the presence of the magnanimous Prince, who, breaking asunder the chains of their ancient servitude, had called them and their children into the enjoyment of a new existence?

In this same square, overcrowded with people, three hundred years before, on the 29th March, 1558, Gioffredo Varaglia, pastor of the Waldensian parish of San Giovanni in the Luserna valley, suffered martyrdom. To the executioner, who, according to custom, asked his forgiveness, he replied: "Not only do I pardon you, but also those who have imprisoned me, those who have brought me hither, and those who have condemned me. Take courage, do your duty; my death will not be in vain." And he began to pray; aloud

he invoked his God; and the executioner, having strangled him, set fire to the pile.—His death was not in vain! "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church"; and the six hundred of '48 saluted, doubtless, the sacred memory of Gioffredo Varaglia and of the Waldensian martyrs of all ages who, with their love for the Truth and with their self-sacrifice, insured to their church a liberty which no one will ever again take from her. "The gifts of God are without repentance." What the world cannot give, God gives; and when He has given it, the world cannot take away!

* * *

Throughout all Italy, from the Alps to the very end of Sicily, wherever there is a group of brethren having for their crest the candlestick and seven stars, there the 17th February is commemorated every year; commemorated in peace, without hatred or indignation.

On the 17th February we do not think of Innocent VIII, or of the baptism of blood[16] which our church received at his hands among the rocks of Pra del Torno and of the Colli della Croce e d'Abries; we forget that many a time, wandering among those rocks, we seemed to hear the

[16] 27th April, 1487.

lamentations of women outraged, of men mutilated, and of children torn asunder; but, remembering the mocking inscription on the Pope's tombstone in St. Peter's at Rome: "Innocentia mea ingressus sum," "I have entered into my rest through my innocence," we only say to our little ones: "Children, do not wait until others cover your iniquities with the mantle of a lying epitaph; prepare your epitaph yourselves by living a pure life, a Christian life, a life entirely consecrated to Goodness."

On the 17th February we forget the "Pasque Piemontesi,"[17] we forget Charles Emanuel II, Innocent X, and Maria Christina who reigned for Charles, and Donna Olimpia who acted as Pope for Innocent. History, not we, will tell the world that there, in the Waldensian valleys, in the middle of the seventeenth century, at their instigation, human sacrifices were offered to the glory of the God of the New Covenant, who is the God of Love!

The 17th February is not a day of recrimination; it is a day of oblivion, or pardon; not only, but also a day of solemn "memento" and of special expressions of gratitude. Of solemn "memento," I say, because the Church of the martyrs must not forget (and in my next chapter

[17] 15th May, 1650.

I shall show that she has not forgotten) that civil liberty was granted to her not as an end, but as a means of making others spiritually free. And of special gratitude also: of gratitude towards the great ones who first put in a word in favour of her emancipation; of gratitude to the noble hearts who promoted the petition which brought about the freedom; of gratitude to the prince who signed the Edict, and, above all, of gratitude towards God; for, as the heroes of the "glorious Return" recognised their deliverance from the executioners of Louis XIV and Victor Amadeus as a gift from God, so does the Waldensian church to-day recognise the Edict of her emancipation as His loving and unspeakable gift.

V

MISSIONARY BLOSSOM AND EVANGELICAL FRUIT IN THE GARDEN OF ITALY

V

MISSIONARY BLOSSOM AND EVANGELICAL FRUIT IN THE GARDEN OF ITALY

WE have already seen how God raised up in Italy the Waldensian church and kept her alive through many fiery persecutions. Evidently God, in so doing, had an aim, a special mission to entrust to the church of His heart. As He intended ancient Israel to be the evangelist of the world, so He intended the Israel of the Alps to be the evangelist of Italy. How far the Israel of the Alps understood its mission we shall shortly see. First of all, however, I think it necessary to speak of a spiritual revival which took place in Italy independently of the Waldensian church and which was already secretly in action in the Italian field when the Waldensian church was still chained to her rocks awaiting an edict that would emancipate her from her immemorial bondage.

During the first half of 1800, Italy, divided and

subdivided, was oppressed by the tyranny of foreigners, of Jesuits, and of the Inquisition; the failure of the Italian revolution of 1831 had caused the bitterness of delusion to take the place of the first enthusiasm for a liberty so long hoped for; the hurricane of the French Revolution passing over Italy, had carried away from the mind of even the best that small remnant of religion which they no longer possessed in their hearts; when, suddenly, freedom appeared to revive in the Italian field of literature and science, and it seemed as if it would revive in the field of religion also.

The cradle of the religious revival which I am alluding to, was in Tuscany; and in Florence especially.

How did it come about?

Nobody can say exactly; "the wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."[1] The British and Foreign Bible Society had already begun to print the Italian New Testament in 1808, and the Italian Bible followed in 1821. The sacred volumes, which were sold at a low price, were circulated in great secrecy, and sometimes in ways as ingenious as those in which Tyndale's version was scattered

[1] John iii. 8.

far and wide throughout the country in spite of the utmost vigilance at English ports.[2] English, Scotch, and American people who were in Italy, attracted by the mildness of the climate and the poetic beauty of the land, did not forget the command of their Master to be His witnesses, and lent themselves, with no little personal danger, to the secret propagation of the Word of God in that country. Hermann Reuchlin relates [3] that during the revolution in 1831, a large number of Bibles had already been introduced into the pontifical States. The Roman Catholics, however, had been warned, since the year 1816, against all Bible Societies, which were called a " pestilence "; and in 1824 Leo XII told them that through the activity of such societies " the Gospel of Christ had become nothing but the word of man; nay, more; the word of the devil." Rome watched with Argus' eyes and pitilessly delivered into the hands of the secular arm any one found to be the possessor or the circulator of Bibles or New Testaments. Many hid the sacred volumes underground or in secret corners of their houses so as to avoid falling into

[2] William Tyndale (b. 1484, d. at the stake on 6th October, 1536) completed in Worms, in 1526, the printing of his translation of the New Testament, which he had begun in Cologne in 1525.

[3] Ermanno Reuclin: *Storia d'Italia*, Vol. I, p. 231.

the clutches of the police; others threw them into rivers; and not a few of them providentially came to light again, sometimes in the most unexpected ways, and so became, in their turn, means of a revival. Two men, for instance, went one day to bathe in the Arno near Signa; they saw a book being carried away by the current; one of them got hold of it, and found that it was a Bible; he began to read and study it, and in a short time was led from the darkness of Roman superstition to the truth as it is in Christ. Perhaps, in God's Providence, even the Protestant soldiers who had come to Italy to enroll themselves in the army of the Pope or of the Bourbons may have had a share in the spreading of the Gospel in Italy; what is certain is that the Protestant communities founded by foreigners for their countrymen in Italy, and the so-called "Children's Schools," had a not unimportant share in the revival. As the dawn of the Tuscan evangelical mission is intimately connected with the two last named institutions, some more information about them may not be out of place.

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The Protestant communities scattered here and there in the larger Italian cities were generally

composed of Swiss, Dutch, German, and English people. The most ancient of these was in Venice, for we read of certain rights granted to it by the Republic as far back as 1565. Then come those of Leghorn,[4] Bergamo,[5] Rome,[6] Genoa,[7] Naples,[8] Florence,[9] and Milan.[10] To those communities other institutions were sometimes attached, such as the "Pères de Famille"[11] in Florence, and later on the "Deaconesses of Kaiserwerth,"[12] which were non-confessional, but had a distinctly Protestant stamp. All these institutions were unable to engage openly in evangelical mission work,

[4] The *Chiesa Olandese-Alemanna* of Leghorn, organised in 1607, was at first a Roman Catholic body. In 1773 a Protestant minister was called as pastor. In 1828 a society was formed in Leghorn to introduce Protestant worship in French. This society joined the "Olandese-Alemanna" congregation in 1837.

[5] The Swiss-Italian Protestant community at Bergamo was founded in 1807.

[6] The Protestant community of Rome was founded in 1819 by the great B. G. Niebuhr and had as pastors, among others, Rothe, Tholuck, Thiele.

[7] The Protestant community of Genoa was founded in 1824.

[8] Naples had a German Protestant church (attached to the Prussian Legation), inaugurated about 1824. Then, in 1825, Adolphe Monod commenced a French Protestant service in the drawing-room of a family in which he lived as a tutor. The French Protestant community, however, was organised in Naples only about 1827.

[9] The Evangelical Reformed Church of Florence dates from 2d July, 1826.

[10] The "Comunità Svizzero-Alemanna" of Milan dates from 1850.

[11] Founded in 1838. [12] Opened in 1860 by Theod. Fliedner.

on account of the times, but they kept the torch of Christian testimony alight in days of superstition and darkness. Bankers, business men, "attachés" to the foreign Courts, though they did not actually preach, still, by their earnest, active, honest, and pure lives, testified to the truth; and, by their straightforward dealings, caused all who came into contact with them to believe that a religion able to produce lives and characters such as these, could not, after all, be the infamous thing which the priests always asserted that it was.

With regard to the "Children's Schools," Giuseppe Montanelli, Professor in the University of Pisa and President of the Council of Ministers at the time of Leopold II, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, has left us an amount of precious information.[13] He has told us how the liberals of 1821 introduced these schools into Tuscany for popular education. During the period following that of the "Giovane Italia" (Young Italy), "Children's Schools" were started which, persecuted by the priests from their birth, had to be conducted cautiously and secretly. The promoter and pioneer of the first of these schools, which

[13] Giuseppe Montanelli: *Memorie sull' Italia e specialmente sulla Toscana.* Torino, 1853.

originated in Pisa, was Miss Matilde Calandrini, a Genevan lady, a descendant of one of those Lucca families who, having accepted the Reformation in the sixteenth century, had to go into exile. She was at Pisa on account of her health, and thought of founding there an educational work on the lines of those of her own fatherland. She needed a helper and found one in Luigi Frassi, a staunch republican and liberal of 1799, an old man with a young heart.[14] The school could not be opened without a proper license; and Frassi, knowing too well that if he asked for it, the authorities would certainly never grant it, started the first "Children's School" in his own house. The police did not dare to violate the domicile of one of the most respected citizens of Pisa; tolerance was interpreted as a kind of tacit approval, and so the beneficial institutions, little by little and almost secretly, were established in Tuscany. Those liberals who felt inclined to encourage this work, if not with a view of helping the lower classes at any rate to seize the opportunity it afforded them of showing the poor that they wanted to be friendly and protect their liberties, formed a kind of brotherhood which spread from Pisa throughout

[14] Frassi died in 1838. He had a worthy successor in Lorenzo Ceramelli, a large-hearted man of sound judgment and great perseverance. Frassi's son helped him greatly.

the rest of Tuscany, and beyond. By means of that brotherhood the members came into contact with Frassi, Don Ferrante, Aporti of Cremona, Enrico Mayer of Leghorn, Carlo Torrigiani of Florence, Andrea Buovi of Bologna, Lorenzo Valerio of Turin, all illustrious men noted for their culture as well as for their charity. And here the opinion of Giuseppe Montanelli is of great value to us, inasmuch as it is an independent opinion. "Matilde Calandrini," he says, "belonged to that so-called Evangelical communion, which, in our times, is notable for its religious fervour. She respected the religious convictions of others and did not take advantage of the 'Children's Schools' to carry out a Protestant propaganda as the priests charged her with doing. The greater number of those who were associated with her in trying their best to educate the people, were men imbued with the philosophy of the eighteenth century, indifferent to religious matters, although baptised in the Roman Catholic Church; still, contact with that earnest, ardent Christian soul produced in them the most extraordinary results. Miss Calandrini was in the habit of holding family worship regularly in the evening, which consisted of the reading of the Bible and extempore prayer uttered from the fulness of her heart. It

was impossible for all those present to listen to the outpourings of such a believing soul without being moved, and without being afterwards compelled to reflect. Many, later on, in moments when they were led to feel their own weakness and the need of prayer, thought of those memorable evenings, and were inflamed with religious fire, and thus were brought from indifference to Christian faith. It was in that way that the first Tuscan religious brotherhood arose from the educational brotherhood. The first Tuscan converts used to hold prayer-meetings, and were zealous in spreading the Holy Scriptures translated into the language of the people. Among those converts Count Piero Guicciardini was conspicuous; he belonged to the family of the great Florentine historian of the sixteenth century.'' [15]

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With the mention of Count Piero Guicciardini we come to the real and true Tuscan evangelical revival, which, as we shall see, is intimately con-

[15] Giuseppe Montanelli, in his *Memorie sull' Italia e specialmente sulla Toscana* (Torino, 1853), shows in the most eloquent way how the testimony faithfully rendered to the Gospel by men who were not afraid of the wickedness of the times did not remain unfruitful, and he describes in pages of deep interest the psychological condition of the best men of that wretched period. (*Vide* especially Vol. I, pp. 82-89.)

nected with the foreign Protestant community of Florence and with the "Children's Schools" we have already mentioned.

After the political movements of 1833 the Grand Duke of Tuscany,[16] impressed by the miserable condition into which public instruction had fallen, saw the absolute necessity of a reorganisation. He consulted Count Piero Guicciardini, who was a friend of his, and entrusted him with the delicate task of reforming it. Guicciardini began his work at once, and hearing about the good and modest work of Miss Calandrini, he made her acquaintance, and received the Bible from her. In that Bible he found the "pearl of great price." Not all of a sudden did he find it, but after many researches; it was "as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."[17] A Ro-

[16] When in 1737 the house of the Medici died out with Gian Gastone, the Powers decided that Tuscany should be handed over to the house of Lorraine. The first Grand Duke of Tuscany was Francesco II, who remained in Florence for four months only, and afterwards went to Austria, leaving at the head of the State a regency largely composed of Tuscans. This regency was followed by Leopold I, a true reformer-prince, who came to Florence in 1765. In 1789 he became Emperor of Austria and gave up the Grand Duchy of Tuscany to his brother Ferdinand III, who died in 1824. Ferdinand III was succeeded by Leopold II, who was driven out on the 27th April, 1859, the day when the glorious Italian freedom dawned. He was, however, most courteously accompanied to the Tuscan frontier by the Florentines, who there bade him a none too regretful "farewell."

[17] Proverbs iv. 18.

man Catholic priest, Raffaele Lambruschini, a very liberal man, was the one to tell Guicciardini that there was in the world such a thing as the precious "pearl." Miss Calandrini put him in possession of it; and a simple cobbler was the means of revealing to him its great value. In fact, even before Miss Calandrini had given him the precious volume, one day, whilst Guicciardini was returning from an interview with the Grand Duke, he met Lambruschini in the entrance hall of the ducal palace, and said to him: "You who know all about these things, will you, please, tell me what book of good, moral stories I can choose for the use of the children in my schools?" Lambruschini cast a glance round to make sure that nobody could hear him, and: "Get the Gospel!" he whispered, and hurried away. When Guicciardini got the Gospel and began to study it for the benefit of the children of his schools, he felt that it had a personal message for himself: a message that deeply troubled his conscience and his mind. One day, as he was coming down the stairs of his palace, he noticed that his porter (who was also a cobbler and had his tool-bench in the lodge) was reading a book, which he hastily hid under the bench as soon as he saw the Count. The Count, moved by curiosity, went forward and insisted on

seeing the book. It was a Bible.—" Now, what ever can you understand of this book? " asked he. —" I think I understand something of it," answered the cobbler.—" Well," replied the Count, " come and let us talk it over." That was the beginning of a long series of conversations, during which the Spirit, by means of this humble man of the people, opened the mind and the heart of the aristocrat.

Meanwhile a kind of selection was taking place. Men like Montanelli and others who felt attracted towards politics threw themselves entirely into the political arena. The priest Lambruschini withdrew from the evangelical movement into the quite rural retirement of San Cerbone;[18] Enrico Mayer gave himself to the secret circulation of the anti-papal writings of Gabriele Rossetti; Stanislao Binaciardi, although in sympathy with the movement, kept aloof from it; but Count Guicciardini, Salvatore Ferretti (who, while still a priest, had received the Bible from the Swiss Pastor Émile Demole), the young advocate Giuseppe Orselli and many others, both men and women, of all social classes, including several liberal priests and friars, continued to hold regular meetings, where they prayed and studied the Gos-

[18] Near Figline in Valdarno (Florence.)

pel. Every Saturday evening Adv. Tito Chiesi came from Pisa to Florence; " on business," people said; but it was well known that his principal business was to spread Bibles and Gospels among the people.

About this time a revolution broke out in Tuscany; and on the 17th February, 1848, the people obtained a Constitution from the Grand Duke Leopold II. In its first article, after having proclaimed the Roman Catholic religion to be the only religion of the State, it added: " all other forms of worship already established are, however, tolerated." Every convert, after that, began, more energetically than ever, to do his best to foster the religious revival. The first meetings, arranged by a Genevan, C. Cremieux, and Count Guicciardini, were held in Piazza Sta. Maria Novella in the house of Francesco and Rosa Madiai, the Aquila and Priscilla of the young church. He was a native of Casentino in Tuscany, and his wife a Roman. The secret meetings multiplied; a record still remains in Florence of those held in seven different houses, where the converts met often, prayed, read, and explained the Word of God, and " broke bread "; and while an Irishman, Admiral Packenham, opened his house to the brethren, a Genevan professor, Theodore Paul,

with a boldness which ended in his banishment from Tuscany, distributed his own excellent religious tracts right and left.

In 1848 four of the best young Waldensian evangelists, Bartholomew Malan, François Gay, Bartholomew Tron, and J. Pierre Meille, went to Florence from the valleys to give a greater impulse to the work. While studying and acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Italian language, they preached in the Swiss church. They were allowed to do so by the authorities, and in Italian, with the understanding, however, that those Italian services should only be held for the benefit of Swiss of the Grisons, residing in Florence; but other "brethren" and "adherents" in the city, thirsty for light and truth, thronged the church. Admiral Packenham generously busied himself with the printing of new editions of the Roman Catholic translation by Martini of the New Testament, as well as the Protestant one by Diodati; but, alas, 1849 came, and with it reaction broke out. The Grand Duke, pressed by Austria and the Pope, not only revoked his Constitution, but set himself to purge Florence of all heresy. The Admiral was arrested, condemned on the general charge of attempts at proselytism, and banished from Tuscany; 3,000 copies of Martini's version

of the New Testament, printed by Giovanni Benelli, were seized by the police, and afterwards burned near the Arno. The printer Benelli was condemned to pay a fine of 50 "scudi" ($58) and costs. In spite of all this, the Italian services in the Swiss church continued, and so did the distribution of the Scriptures. In connection with this circulation of the Scriptures two names must be here mentioned with feelings of special gratitude: those of Dr. Stewart [19] and the Rev. R. M. Hanna,[20] the first two ministers of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Leghorn.[21] I am glad to be able to quote here the words of Rev. J. Wood Brown, a son-in-law of the late Dr. Stewart, who has published [22] the memoirs of the saintly man

[19] The Rev. Robert Walter Stewart, D.D., was born in 1812 in the little rural manse of Bolton in Scotland. On the 12th June, 1845, he landed in Leghorn, the first missionary chaplain of the Scotch church established on the Italian mainland.

[20] The Rev. R. M. Hanna, minister of Girthon and Anwoth, was sent abroad and resided in Pisa on account of his health. During 1847, his first year there, he was unable to undertake any duty; but in the following year he filled the pulpit in Leghorn, while Dr. Stewart was absent in Scotland. Later on, the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland having agreed to establish a church in Florence, Mr. Hanna was selected as its first minister. There, "in his own hired house," on the 26th September, 1849, he opened his home to a small congregation of visitors who came to join in Divine service. Such was the humble beginning of the Scotch church in Florence.

[21] The Scotch church in Leghorn was opened in 1849.

[22] Rev. J. Wood Brown, M.A.: *An Italian Campaign.*

of God: "Leghorn, as the port of Tuscany, was charged with the duty of introducing Bibles into the country. Florence, central among the scattered groups of converts, presided over the distribution of these books. Even the details of such a traffic are interesting, and we may find in them a vivid picture of times and scenes that have passed away, let us hope for ever. The Bibles or other books, packed in bales like ordinary merchandise, were addressed as 'stationery' to the Messrs. Henderson in Leghorn. They remained stored in the office of that firm, or in Mr. Bruce's house,[23] until, in small parcels or as single volumes, they could be gradually conveyed in the pockets of private passengers to Florence. As may be supposed, the Leghorn custom-house was a great hindrance to this traffic; and all kinds and sometimes curious means were used to evade its restrictions. . . . Many were the willing hands which helped in this work, and not a few godly women were of the greatest service in the way of

[23] Mr. Thomas H. Bruce came out to Leghorn on account of his health, in 1846 or '47. When he got better, he opened an English school for boys. After some years the school was closed by the Grand-ducal authorities, and then Mr. Bruce occupied himself in teaching until 1861, when he was appointed Agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was an elder of the Scotch church in Leghorn, an earnest Christian, and ever foremost in all good works. He died in 1881.

conveying the books from Leghorn to Florence by rail. . . . The superintendence of what was done naturally remained in the hands of Dr. Stewart and Mr. Hanna. Theirs it was to arrange and counsel and direct a lively correspondence—carried on for the sake of security in a kind of jargon—passed constantly by private hand during these years of oppression between the house at Leghorn and the Scotch minister's lodging at Florence. In these letters Dr. Stewart is addressed as *Dr. Erskine;* Mr. Hanna as *Sir Girthon Anwoth,* and Bibles are alluded to as *incorruptible seed.*"

Under the protection of the Swiss church a strong nucleus of believers was formed, anxious to be properly organised. The four young Waldensian ministers had gone back to their country, but had left a lasting impression in Florence; so much so that, in June, 1850, Adv. Tito Chiesi, with the full approval of Count Guicciardini and in the name of many brethren, went up to Torre Pellice to ask the Waldenses for an evangelist. Signor B. Malan, one of the original four, was sent and was soon followed by Signor Paolo Geymonat. The two evangelists set themselves to work, confirming the brethren, and announcing the Gospel to all. But the police were not asleep.

Every day they redoubled their vigilance and severity; and as the number of Tuscans who were interested in the Gospel preached in the Swiss church was growing daily, the authorities, pressed by the priests, sent spies to see and report. On the three Sundays, 19th, 26th January and 2d February, 1851, men sent by the police went to the services and took note of those who were present. A great many of them were afterwards called up and examined; about 120 were forbidden to attend the services again, under threat of from eight to sixty days' imprisonment. The Government had recourse to Mr. De Reumont, attaché of the Prussian Legation at Rome, who, after a short correspondence with the Consistory of the Swiss church in Florence, obliged it to give up the Italian service. In this way many people were deprived of the opportunity of hearing the Word of God. Private house-to-house meetings then became more intense, more zealous; but the vigilant eyes of the police, alas, soon found them out.

And here begins the story of the stormy year 1851. In the month of March the Pastor Paul Geymonat was arrested at a meeting, imprisoned for a short time, and removed from Tuscany, chained to a felon. Pastor Malan also was expelled from Tuscany and, by a miracle, saved himself from

being cast into prison. On the 7th May Count Guicciardini and six others [24] were arrested in the house of Fedele Betti, and a few days after condemned to six months' imprisonment. Their crime consisted in sitting round a table and reading the 15th Chapter of St. John's Gospel in Diodati's version. When they arrived at the prison of the Bargello, where they were taken after arrest, Count Guicciardini, taking a small Testament from an inner pocket, which the police had not been able to find when they searched him, said in the most natural way, addressing his companions: 'And now, brethren, let us resume our meditation.'' So they did, and no little comfort did they derive from it. I cannot help thinking that in that solemn moment Count Piero Guicciardini completely obliterated the stain with which his illustrious ancestor, the Florentine historian, had soiled their great name when, with an egoism that seemed almost cynical, he wrote the words I have already quoted in the second chapter: "I do not know if there be a man more disgusted than I am with the ambition, avarice, and effeminacy of the priests. . . . Nevertheless, my position at the Court of several Popes has made it necessary for

[24] Count Piero Guicciardini, Cesare Magrini, Angiolo Guarducci, Carlo Solaini, Sabatino Borsieri, Giuseppe Guerra, and Fedele Betti.

me, in view of my own private interests, to love their greatness; had it not been for that reason, I should have loved Martin Luther dearly."[25]

The sentence on the Count and his friends was afterwards commuted to exile from Tuscany, and only twenty-four hours were allowed them to prepare for their departure from Tuscan territory. On the 17th August, the police made a search in the house of Francesco Madiai, where they found two copies of Diodati's version of the Bible. At the same time they arrested Francesco Madiai, Mr. Arthur Walker, Francesco Mannelli, and Alessandro Fantoni, and conducted them at once to prison. Mr. Walker was released on the representation of the British Minister; but, on the day following, Rosa, wife of Francesco Madiai, was arrested and imprisoned. Francesco Mannelli and Alessandro Fantoni, after eight days' imprisonment, were condemned to exile from Tuscany, on the charge of being accomplices of the Madiai, who stood accused of impiety by proselytising. The two Madiai remained in prison till the 27th June of the following year, when they were condemned: the husband to four years and eight months' hard labour in the fortress of Vol-

[25] Francesco Guicciardini. Opere inedite, Ricordo 28. *Vide* also Ric. 236 and 346.

terra; the wife to three years and nine months of "reclusion" in the prison of Lucca. The Madiai were finally released after their case had been taken up by all the Protestant States of Europe.

I could continue for a long time the sad tale of arrests, heavy sentences, and iniquitous imprisonments;[26] but time fails me, and my aim here is not

[26] "On the night of the 16th November, 1851, the house of Damiano Bolognini was searched by the police, and several copies of d'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation* and of Count Guicciardini's *Confession and Narrative* discovered. Bolognini, having heard this in his absence at the time from his own house, saved himself by flight, and went into voluntary exile.

"About the same time, search was made for Angelo Calamandrei, suspected of circulating evangelical tracts at the instance of parties concerned in the Protestant Propaganda. Calamandrei, having remained several days in hiding, succeeded in escaping from Tuscany.

"Towards the close of the same year, 1851, Stefano Benelli, of Florence, was arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the Protestant movement. A number of Protestant books, tracts, and Bibles having been found in a room belonging to him, but used by other parties, Benelli was condemned to three months' imprisonment, and the books were seized by the police.

"On the 20th of January, 1852, Daniele Mazzinghi and Gaetano Carini were arrested on suspicion of having encouraged an invalid to refuse the sacrament at the hands of a priest. Carini, not a Tuscan by birth, was banished from the Grand Duchy, and Mazzinghi was condemned to six months' imprisonment in the fortress at Volterra, whither he was conducted in chains; but in a short time the sentence was commuted into exile from Tuscany.

"In the month of November, 1852, the police made a perquisition in the house of Angelo Guarducci, formerly compromised in the arrest of Count Guicciardini. A Bible and a few tracts having been found, Guarducci was arrested, and imprisoned in Florence, where he was kept for about ten months.

to write a minute and complete chronicle of the evangelical mission in that heroic age. Still, I must not forget the names of three gallant English ladies, Miss Johnson, Miss Weston, and Miss Brown, ardent propagandists, who, when molested by the police, had to flee for a while from Florence, only to return and distribute with unparalleled courage copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts; of Dr. Luigi Desanctis, the rector of the

As nothing could be proved against him, he was not brought to trial; but simply kept in prison on suspicion. Finally, he obtained permission to leave Tuscany, and went into exile.

"In the month of January, 1853, Carlo Carrana, of Florence, was condemned to two years' imprisonment in Florence, for holding opinions contrary to the religion of the State, and also on suspicion of sympathising with political parties opposed to the Government.

"In the month of August, 1853, there was a perquisition in the house of Natale Lippi, baker, of Florence; and several copies of Diodati's version of the Bible and a few religious tracts having been found in the house, Lippi, along with his son-in-law, and Alessandro Barli, also of Florence, was arrested and imprisoned. After fifteen days, Lippi's two companions were released; but he himself was condemned to three months' imprisonment, on the ground that he had been overheard by his neighbours reading the Bible in his own house, and that sundry persons had been present for the purpose of hearing him read.

"Giovanni Ruggero, of San Piero in Bagno, was arrested in the month of April, I believe, and afterwards conducted to the public prison in Florence. After eight months' imprisonment, he was tried and acquitted; the Royal Court of Florence, before which he was tried, holding, however, that the long imprisonment already suffered before the trial was well deserved, as the accused had spoken in private conversation against confession and the worship of the Virgin.

Maddalena in Rome, who had been converted to Christ and had already preached the Gospel in 1848 in the Swiss church in Florence and in the Scotch church at Leghorn "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power"; of Adv. Bonaventura Mazzarella of Gallipoli in Calabria, a political exile of 1848, who got a Bible from the Waldensian church and by means of it spiritual freedom in Christ; of the Albarellas d'Afflitto,

"In the month of November, 1853, Pietro Baldi and Michele Manzuoli, of Sesto, were arrested and thrown into prison, on the charge of impiety by means of proselytism. They were condemned by the Royal Court of Florence to ten months' imprisonment in the House of Correction, besides undergoing three months' imprisonment before their trial.

"Giovanni Gimignani, of Leghorn, trunk-maker. In the spring of 1853, he was accused to the Government of being guilty of propagandism, by reading the Word of God and other Protestant books to his wife and only son, a lad of fifteen years of age. A woman living on the same landing with them, acted as spy—listened at the door to hear what was read—and made this known to the priest at confession.

"In the month of October, 1854, Eusebio Massei, of Pontedera, was arrested and condemned by the Prefecture at Pisa to a year's imprisonment at Imbrogiana, for having expressed opinions contrary to the Romish Church, and for having spoken disrespectfully of the Supreme Pontiff and the priests of the Roman Catholic religion.

"On the 25th of March, 1855, Domenico Cecchetti, of Florence, was arrested and condemned to a year's imprisonment at Imbrogiana, for having failed to instruct his children in the Roman Catholic religion; and also for holding Protestant opinions, and reading the Bible with his family. After nearly four months of imprisonment, on the representation of the British Minister, the sentence was commuted into exile.

southern Italians, men of great minds and large hearts, to whom the evangelical work in those early times was immensely indebted; and finally let me not forget the beloved name of Mr. John Lenox of New York, the constant and munificent supporter of the evangelical cause in Italy from its very beginning.

The work was progressing; the fire of persecution did not check it, but purified, sanctified, intensified it; and, as in the days of the persecution in Jerusalem, the exiles carried everywhere the incorruptible seed of the Word of God; which, being sown by some and watered by others, God caused to increase in a marvellous way. I have spoken especially of Florence, for, as I have pointed out, Florence was the cradle of the Italian religious revival; but in all Tuscany, in Leghorn, Pisa, Prato, Pistoia, Bagni di Lucca especially, the Gospel had free course and was glorified by men and women who accepted it as "the power

"About the month of May, 1855, Giovanni Ruggero, of San Piero in Bagno, was found in a grove with a friend reading the Bible. Ruggero, having been compromised in a former trial (as already stated), was at once arrested and along with his friend cast into prison.

"In the month of September, 1855, a trial was begun at Pisa against sundry persons in Pontedera accused of holding evangelical opinions. No fewer than sixteen individuals were implicated." (Quoted from Rev. J. Wood Brown: *An Italian Campaign*—Appendix.)

of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."[27]

Many of the Tuscan exiles took refuge in Piedmont, where they formed many groups and held meetings everywhere, which were always crowded, inspired, and inspiring. After the stormy political events of 1848-1849, the whole of Piedmont was filled with refugees; an extraordinary number of Neapolitans, Tuscans, Lombards, and Venetians, persecuted by the police for political reasons, took the way of exile, and chose Turin as their shelter. There they frequented the evangelical meetings regularly, and a great many of them waited with longing for the political redemption of Italy in order to be able to go back to their native places, bearers of the Gospel of salvation to their relations, friends, and fellow-citizens. In Turin, Pinerolo, Genoa, Novi, Alessandria, Nice, Casale, Sampierdarena, Novara, and in other centres, souls answered with great alacrity to the appeal for God's grace and were converted to Christ. No preoccupation about church organisation had yet risen to trouble minds and hearts; the only great preoccupation of all in those days was the triumph of the Kingdom of God. The descendants of the old heroes came

[27] Romans i. 16.

down from among the rocks of the Waldensian valleys to Turin, Genoa, and Tuscany, and associated themselves with the young brethren, whom the Word of God had converted almost without human instrumentality; all fraternised, all were "of one accord." Suddenly the preoccupation about church organisation arose; it quickly prepared the ground for discord, and in 1854 disagreement broke out simultaneously in Turin and in Genoa, where, for the first time, the *evangelical churches,* as they had simply and beautifully called themselves up to that date, were divided into two branches: the *Waldensian churches* on the one side, and the *Free Italian churches* [28] on the other.

For the present, I shall say nothing more about this schism. I prefer to take a retrospective view of the events which I have already narrated, recall to mind the memories of those I have not had time to mention, visit in spirit the hundreds and hundreds of places which it has been impossible for me even to speak of, and rejoice in the marvellous vision of this beautiful part of the field of God during these heroic times to which I have

[28] In a letter from B. Mazzarella, dated 28th February, 1857, we read: "Our brethren . . . have been sent by the *Free Evangelical Church of Genoa.*"

tried to transport you. There is scarcely a village in Tuscany without some trace of those glorious days. When walking through the streets of the old part of Florence I pass some of those houses where the police of the Grand Duke used to dog all who met there in great secrecy, as if to perpetrate a crime, the feelings that are aroused in me cannot be described. When I walk along our Florentine Lungarni, I see again in spirit the mysterious boats in which men used to gather to pray and read the Gospel, right in the middle of the river where the police would not surprise them so easily. And up at Fiesole, from the depths of the quarries of Monte Ceceri, some of which look like the ruins of old Egyptian temples, I seem to hear the distant echo of the hymns sung by the brethren who used to meet there, far from the din of the world and the ambushes of the Grand Ducal police. I have had the good fortune to know some of those men and women, the remnant of an old army of Christian heroes; and many a time have I seen their eyes fill with tears while they told me the old story of their arrest, imprisonment, or banishment; and when I have heard them lament the lukewarmness of Christian faith in these times of ours which are so rich in religious freedom, and almost regret the times in which per-

secution kindled the faith, hope, and love of the Church, I have been more than ever persuaded that political freedom is without doubt a great gift; but if instead of being taken as a means to obtain the glorious freedom of the spirit it is taken as an end in itself, it may become an awful danger and a source of terrible evil. Every gift of God implies some responsibility in those who receive it; and the greater the gift, the greater the responsibility.

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Having arrived at this point, we must now go back to the Waldensian church. The nineteenth century dawned gloomily in the Waldensian valleys. A gust of unbelief blowing from France had invaded all the valleys, which were slumbering in formalism, in enervating religious indifference, and in squalid poverty. But God, who in the past had so miraculously led His people, was certainly not going to abandon them now. He raised up four men who, in His hands, were the salvation of the Israel of the Alps. They were: Felix Neff, Frederic de Waldburg-Truchess, Canon William Stephen Gilly, and General Charles Beckwith.

Felix Neff,[29] a mighty man of God, who brought new life into the population on the French side of the Alps, crossed over to the Waldensian valleys in 1825. He exhorted the people to repent and to believe as their fathers had done, and was the means of a deep and lasting religious revival among them. Frederic de Waldburg-Truchess, the Prussian ambassador at Turin between 1816 and 1844, was used by God to protect the Waldenses from the legal and illegal inhumanities of the Court and clergy, and the ambassador did his work with zeal and fidelity. With the help of his Sovereign, he was able to establish a regular Protestant religious service, conducted by Waldensian pastors, in his own palace in Rome. The Anglican Canon W. S. Gilly [30] began to take an interest in the Waldensian church by hearing the reading of a letter in a London missionary society, written by Ferdinand Peyran, a much beloved pastor of Pramol in the valleys. Canon Gilly left at once for Italy and visited the old historical church for the first time in 1823. To him, who took a special interest in the classical education of the

[29] Felix Neff was born in Geneva in 1797 and died there in 1829.

[30] Canon W. S. Gilly died in England on the 10th September, 1855. To his very last he had deeply at heart the spiritual and material welfare of the Waldensian people.

young and in the preparation of future ministers, are due the foundation and the building of the College at Torre Pellice and the foundation of a library there, which contains at present 23,000 volumes. Charles Beckwith [31] was a lieutenant-colonel in the British army who, on the 18th June, 1815, at the close of the battle of Waterloo, lost a leg through a cannon shot. During his forced inactivity the young officer was led to think of the supreme interests of his soul. Having casually come across the first book published by Canon Gilly on the Waldenses, Beckwith was so impressed that, in the autumn of 1827, he started for the valleys, which were to become for him a second fatherland. He fostered elementary education there and founded schools in all the so-called "Quartieri" (Quarters) of the valleys. To him and to his friends whom he succeeded in interesting in the work, the Waldenses owe the neat buildings well known as "Beckwith Schools," and the fund for the stipend of the teachers. General Beckwith took a keen interest in every Waldensian work connected either with the education of youth, the different parishes, or with the mission

[31] General Charles Beckwith was born at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the 2d October, 1789. In the Waldensian valleys, where he settled down, he married Miss Caroline Vola of San Giovanni, and died at Torre Pellice on the 19th July, 1862.

in the rest of Italy. His memory is and always will be greatly blessed in the heart of the Waldensian people.

About the middle of the century, God assured freedom of conscience to the Waldensian church. In the preceding chapter I have related the events connected with the Edict of Emancipation of 17th February, 1848.

On the 4th February, 1851, a meeting of Waldensian pastors was held in the college at Torre Pellice to consider, among others, the following problem: "What is now the mission of the Waldensian church since the Edict has been granted? Has she or not a mission to fulfil?" The answer was clear: "The mission of the Waldensian church is to evangelise Italy, and this is to be held as 'a sacred and holy duty.'" And as the Waldenses had already gone down into Tuscany for evangelistic purposes, thus almost anticipating the result of the meeting, so, in order to give a new impulse to their missionary work, the first stone of the beautiful church in Turin was laid nine months later.[32]

The handful of heroes, survivors of so many persecutions, whom God brought back from exile to their own country, has now become a people

[32] 29th October, 1851.

numbering 12,160 communicants, under the spiritual care of 18 pastors in the 17 old parishes in the valleys. Outside the valleys, from Turin down to the furthest limit of Sicily, the Waldensian church has 42 churches, 203 missionary stations, 6,603 communicants, about 40,000 adherents, 136 workers, of whom 52 are regularly ordained ministers, 2,192 scholars in the day schools and 3,140 in the Sunday schools. She has a Faculty of Divinity, a College for Classical Studies recognised by the Government, 2 charitable educational institutions, a theological review (*La Rivista Cristiana*), and an evangelistic weekly paper, *La Luce* (The Light).

In 1883 the first Waldensian missionary started for South Africa.[33] Later on others followed him, directing their steps towards the land of the Ba-Sutos and towards the inhospitable banks of the Upper Zambesi, where to-day seven Waldensian missionaries, connected with the "Société des Missions" of Paris, preach the Gospel to the Ba-Rotse and to the thirty barbarous tribes subject to them. And the name "Waldensian," herald of the Gospel of Christ, is honoured and blessed in several prosperous colonies: in Würtemberg,[34]

[33] Rev. Giacomo Weitzecker.

[34] They were founded in 1699 by the Waldenses who had been exiled from their country by the edict of 1st July, 1698.

in South America,[35] at Monett in Missouri,[36] in North Carolina,[37] and among the fluctuating but numerous centres of Waldensian emigrants in North America, and in France: Nice, Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons.[38]

Having spoken of the Waldensian church, let me mention also the sister churches which work so valiantly in the beautiful and attractive Italian field, together with her.

The evangelical movement, which, as we have seen, began in Tuscany at a time of fiery persecution, was not unfruitful, but continued its great and beneficial work, and developed into two branches.

The first kept itself absolutely independent of any church organisation, and held meetings with presiding elders, acknowledging as legitimate the free exercise of the special gifts imparted by the Spirit to the brethren. This branch has to this day strictly retained its peculiar stamp, which is

[35] Founded in 1856. To-day the Waldensian colonies in South America number 7 parishes (Colonia Valdense, Cosmopolita-Artilleros, Belgrano, Lavalla, San Salvador, Tarariras-Riachuelo, Iris), with a total of 6 pastors, 2,172 communicants, and a Waldensian population of 5,956 souls.

[36] Founded by Pastor Salmon and composed of about thirty families.

[37] Founded in 1893.

[38] In Marseilles alone there are about 2,000 Waldenses.

evidently of the "Plymouth brethren" type.[39]

The second branch of the movement was formed of a nucleus of churches called simply *Evangelical churches;* in 1865 they organised themselves into one ecclesiastical body and held their first General Assembly at Bologna, when they assumed the name of *Free Italian Church;* in 1876 they formulated their own Confession of Faith, and in 1899 took the name of *the Evangelical Church of Italy.* In 1905 this "Evangelical Church of Italy" handed over some of her churches and some of her workers to the two branches of the Methodist mission, so that now she is reduced to only two churches: one in Florence and one in Rome, both of which have day and Sunday schools and carry on mission work in the outskirts of the two cities.

About the end of 1861 the Wesleyan Methodist Church began to work in Italy. In 1872 she divided her work into two districts: north and south; but in 1902 the whole mission was reunited under one superintendent.[40]

[39] This first branch of the evangelical movement in Italy has churches in about 20 towns, and in about 68 smaller places in the Peninsula.

[40] The *Wesleyan Methodist Church* numbers: 37 churches and a good number of mission stations, 2,335 communicants, 40 ministers, 802 scholars in day schools, and 1,493 scholars in Sunday schools.

In 1866 the Anglo-Italian branch of the Baptist mission, which is now divided into three districts (North, Tuscan, and Central),[41] started its work; and in 1870 it was followed by the American-Italian branch of the same mission.[42] In 1884 the two Baptist missions united and formed the "Christian Apostolic Baptist Union."

The Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1870, decided to extend her missionary activity to Italy. In September, 1874, she held her first District Conference at Bologna, and in March, 1881, the Italian mission was regularly constituted at the Annual Conference.[43]

In 1890 the Salvation Army began to unfurl her banner in Northern Italy.[44]

Besides all these missionary efforts, which time

[41] The *Anglo-Italian* branch of the *Baptist Mission* numbers: 56 churches and mission stations, 663 communicants, 20 ministers, 886 scholars in Sunday schools.

[42] The *American-Italian* branch of the *Baptist Mission* numbers: 35 churches, 96 stations, 1,017 communicants, 40 pastors, 120 scholars in day schools, 947 scholars in Sunday schools, 1 theological faculty, 1 theological review—*Bilychnis*.

[43] The *Methodist Episcopal Church* numbers: 46 churches with 12 "diasporas" connected with them, 3,000 communicants, 45 ministers, 30 local preachers, 2,300 scholars in Sunday schools, 2 flourishing educational institutions in Rome and 1 in Venice, 1 theological school, 1 evangelistic weekly paper—*L'Evangelista* ("The Evangelist").

[44] The *Salvation Army* began its work in Italy in 1890 at San Giovanni in the Waldensian valleys. It is now working in 23 different centres and has 377 workers (officers and soldiers) in the

fails me to speak of as amply as they deserve, I must limit myself simply to making mention of the British and Foreign Bible Society,[45] the National Bible Society of Scotland,[46] the Religious Tract Society for Italy,[47] the Young Men's Christian Association,[48] the Young Women's Christian Association,[49] the Italian Sunday School Union,[50]

field. In May, 1907, the Salvation Army opened a "Rescue Home" in Milan (Villa Speranza). Since the date of its foundation, it has given shelter and offered moral and spiritual salvation to 142 girls.

[45] The British and Foreign Bible Society began its work in Italy as early as 1809, when 500 Italian New Testaments were sent into the country from Malta. In the year 1817 the Society printed an edition of 5,000 Testaments in Naples, and in the following year it printed 5,000 in Turin. In the year 1819 it was reported that up to that date 19,000 New Testaments had been distributed in Italy. The Italian New Testament was first issued by the Bible Society in 1808, and the Italian Bible in 1821.

[46] The *National Bible Society of Scotland* took the field in Italy in 1860.

[47] The *Religious Tract Society for Italy* was founded in 1855. Until 1862 it had its seat in Turin, where it established the *Claudian Press* (which derived its name from Claudius, Bishop of Turin (d. 839), well known for his protests against the superstitions of the Church of Rome). In 1862 its seat was transferred to Florence, where it still remains.

[48] Independent Y.M.C.A.'s already existed in 1865. They were organized into a National Federation in 1887.

[49] These Associations began in 1892 and were organised into a National Federation in 1898.

[50] In 1891, under the auspices of the "Sunday School Unions" of London and New York, the "National Committee of the Sunday Schools of Italy" was appointed. In 1894 the "National Committee," in agreement with the "London Sunday School Union," appointed a General Secretary.

and the Italian branch of the World's Student Christian Federation.[51] With the mention of the flourishing independent Baptist mission of Spezia,[52] several medical missions,[53] various educational institutions, and about fifteen religious papers and reviews which, weekly or monthly, carry the Gospel of the Kingdom of God throughout the whole Peninsula, I think I have given as complete and exact an idea of the missionary work carried on in Italy as it is possible to give.[54]

My sympathy and love are with all these heroic missionary efforts, and I consider it an exceptional privilege to be able to render the homage of my unlimited esteem and warmest admiration to the regiment of Christian soldiers engaged in that work, irrespective of the uniform they wear and the particular flag under which they rally, especially when I think of the brethren who have come among us from beyond the Alps and beyond the

[51] Founded in Rome, in January, 1904. [52] Founded in 1866.

[53] The most important among which are: The "Medical Mission" of Florence, founded in 1880; the "Medical Dispensary" and "Soup-Kitchen," also in Florence, founded in 1892, and the "Medical Missions" connected with several Baptist churches.

[54] In order to make the statement more complete, I shall mention three other works: The "Chiesa Evangelica Italiana," with headquarters in Leghorn and possessing a very limited number of small congregations; an Independent "Conditionalist Baptist Church" founded in 1883 at Torre Pellice in the Waldensian valleys and confined in narrow limits, and a Unitarian movement which has just begun its work.

seas, bringing into our field the sweet odour of a living faith, the true example of unwearied activity, and the eloquent test of the power of a strong character truly consecrated to the Lord. In a land where a language is spoken radically different from theirs, where the character of the people is so different from their own, where manners, customs, and everything else are at the very antipodes to that which they have been used from their childhood, and surrounded by a cloud of other difficulties, they have always shown themselves "in all these things more than conquerors through Him that loved them." I wish to emphasise this testimony of mine because I want it to be well understood that what I am going to say refers only to things in general and not to the individuals, with whom I have had the honour of being a "fellow-labourer" for years and years, and whom I have ever counted as my best and staunchest friends. We have always worked together respectively under our beloved flags, never, however, forgetting that above our own particular flag waves the great banner of the Kingdom of God.

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* *

In concluding, I ask, as many who know that this Italian mission has been at work for sixty

years have already asked: Are the results of the Italian mission in proportion to the work done and to the sacrifices made?

The answer to such a reasonable and important question depends, according to my thinking, on the idea one has of results, and on how one estimates them.

One evening I was at a dinner given in honour of a foreign friend, a veteran of the Waldensian mission. Among the guests was a wealthy man, whose colossal fortune only equalled his colossal roughness and want of tact. When the time for "toasts" arrived, the one theme was the mission: the great personal merits of the honoured guest in relation to the Italian work. Suddenly, the rich man got up, and began to talk of our missionary work in the most sceptical way, thus sounding a discordant note, and ended by saying: "From your last report I perceive that your church has added, this year, 600 communicants to the roll of membership, and has spent $50,000; now this means that every new communicant has cost between $83 and $84; and really I reckon that price to be too high!" Naturally, if our work in Italy is to be judged by such a criterion, there is no doubt that it has been and is a failure, for its numbers are not in proportion either to the

labour or to the money spent. But is it really money that can purchase immortal souls? Once upon a time one could buy slaves with money; to-day, thank God, even slaves can no longer be bought; only oxen and sheep are bargained for. The work carried on by the churches for the triumph of the Kingdom of God in the great field, the world, is valued by a different standard. The development of the "mustard seed," which grows and becomes "the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree," is not susceptible to any numerical valuation; and there is no human or mechanical dynamometer able to measure the mysterious process by which the leaven of the Kingdom slowly but radically transforms an individual, a family, or a country. Now consider: Italian converts who once upon a time were looked upon with suspicion, when they were not altogether kept in quarantine as morally infectious, and boycotted in public offices and factories, are, on the contrary, to-day esteemed and sought after as men who honestly and conscientiously do their duty. All doors are open to them; their word is listened to with interest, their advice is accepted and followed, as the advice of people whom one can trust and in whom some authority is recognised. Their children are no longer only tolerated in the schools, they are

loved, for, as a rule, they are worthy of being held up by the teachers as an example to others. The press also speaks well of them. The authorities protect them and hold them in high consideration. Public opinion has turned in their favour. If you ask those around you who the "Evangelicals" are, their answer almost always is: "What they are we cannot exactly say; but we know that they are much better than we are"; and often you will hear people who are disgusted with the Church of Rome and with all churches say: "We do not belong any longer to a church; but if we wanted to, you may be sure that it would not be the Church of Rome; it would be yours we should join." While the cultivated classes apply to various pastors for evangelical servants and nurses because they are known to be honest, diligent, and dutiful, the Royal House, which is and must be Roman Catholic, also entrusts its own children to the care of Protestant governesses. Who can say how far the modern trend of Italian thought towards positive spiritualism is due to our evangelical mission? Is not the modern Reform movement within the Church of Rome to a large extent due to Protestant influence? Whence the fear of the Vatican of evangelical propaganda? The Vatican is not a child to be easily frightened;

it is inured to all kinds of assaults and dangers, and does not tremble unless confronted with overpowering peril. All these results of the evangelical missions in Italy are not susceptible to any numerical valuation; nevertheless, they do not cease to be of incalculable value.

The results in the mission field might have been and might be more numerous and more conspicuous. Why they were and are not, is a matter worth considering. And we shall consider it, for a moment, calmly and dispassionately.

* * *

At its dawn our missionary work in Italy had a great deal to suffer on account of serious misunderstanding.

The work began at a time when love for the fatherland and love for Truth were blended. Hatred for the foreign invader and for the old enemy, the Vatican, drew for a time patriots and religious reformers together under one flag; then, little by little, the misunderstanding began; both became one-sided; the patriots trusted entirely to immediate action, to insurrection, to revolution, and despised all kind of evangelical propaganda; the religious propagandists, on the other hand, believed entirely in the exclusiveness of their own

means, and despised everything pertaining to politics alone. The testimony of Giuseppe Montanelli is important, inasmuch as it is the testimony of a well-balanced, impartial witness. "Of those who busied themselves with schools and evangelical propaganda," said he, "some were wrong in setting aside all political questions and in thinking that 'Children's Schools' and Protestant Bibles were sufficient to restore perfect freedom to the Italians. But the liberals did even worse, for they were carried away by the idea that the only thing necessary was for the whole nation to be up in arms; they laughed at peaceful activity and disdained to encourage useful and popular institutions."[55]

That misunderstanding, that biassed judgment was the cause of the first hindrance to the work of evangelisation.

The second hindrance was caused by an unfortunate but easily understood separation between the Waldenses and the converts from other parts of Italy.—The first meeting of the converts from the different provinces of Italy and the Waldenses freed from their Alpine prison by the Edict of Emancipation, had been a most touching one; and

[55] Giuseppe Montanelli: *Memorie sull' Italia e specialmente sulla Toscana,* Vol. I, p. 51.

the affection demonstrated by those brethren so different in temperament but sanctified by the same Christian Spirit, had been truly sincere. They all were "like them that dream"; and a common hymn of praise was raised from their hearts: "The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad."[56] But, alas, after that first enthusiasm, there followed the sad, cold tyranny of facts; and, as we have already seen, a separation became inevitable. The reasons for that separation have been thus explained by Professor Emilio Comba, in his *History of the Waldenses:* "The Waldensian church, which had been isolated for centuries and deprived of contact with men and things, now came forward and tried to impose her ecclesiastical discipline, which was too narrow, too local, and more adapted to her own needs than to those of the newly-risen churches. Her leaders were determined to maintain this discipline, if not to impose it by means of a regular ministry which, though pleasing in a certain way, was too conventional, too absorbing, and insufficient to find favour with a mission which required free development, and the co-operation of every member in the work for the cause which all had at heart. On the one side there were men accus-

[56] Psalm xxvi.

tomed to a rough school who never hastened except with caution. They were shy, bashful, undecided where a question of improvement or progress was concerned, and slow in the liberal application of their own laws. On the other hand were men exuberant, audacious, violent, very apt to exceed reasonable limits. The former, moulded by the Reformation in a small and limited area, were perfectly satisfied with their own government; the latter, instead, were eager to emancipate themselves from all traditional ecclesiastical rules which implied absolute obedience."[57] A separation was bound to take place, and so it did.

At its very commencement, the Italian mission had to suffer a third hindrance caused by interference of two kinds: the Anglican and the Darbyite.

The Anglicans brought no little bitterness into the bosom of the Waldensian church. The great benefactor of the church, General Beckwith, was, like Canon Gilly, an Anglican; he strongly believed that the Waldenses could boast of apostolic origin; that Claudius, Bishop of Turin,[58] was one of them, and one of their most illustrious representatives; and convinced that the Waldenses

[57] Emilio Comba: *Storia de' Valdesi,* p. 382. [58] d. 839.

were Episcopalians with Claudius, he would have liked to see them organise themselves not according to the pattern of the churches of the Reformation, but after that of the Episcopal Church. The Waldenses, however, answered: No, our presbyterial, democratic type of ecclesiastical organisation does not descend to us from the Reformation; it is prior to that period; it is the pattern of the church of our fathers, and we have it from them as a sacred "inheritance." Now, the truth is that the ancient Waldenses did have bishops, but they were of a very presbyterian nature. And when one thinks that after all what General Beckwith wanted for the Waldenses was not an absolute, autocratic Episcopalian church, but an Episcopal church presbyterially organised,[59] it seems as if an agreement between their great benefactor and the people he benefited ought not to have been so very difficult. Still, it turned out to be not only difficult, but impossible. The bitterness began and lasted; and we know well that the Kingdom of

[59] From a letter by General Beckwith to G. P. Bonjour, 28th August, 1844. General Beckwith proposed a Moderator for life, who was not to have a charge of any particular church. He exhorted the Waldenses to assert more energetically than in the past the principle of authority, and, by adopting a liturgical form of worship, to ensure to the church a more active and efficient participation in public worship by all members. See E. Comba.

God cannot develop in an atmosphere of bitterness.

But the interference of the Darbyites was even more disastrous, inasmuch as it injured the whole Italian mission. The first seeds of their ecclesiastical anarchy sown among the young converts of Tuscany at the time of the persecution,[60] were the cause of many and serious divisions; first of all, between the early converts themselves; then, between them and the Waldenses, and they were also the reason why such men as Bonaventura Mazzarella and Luigi Desanctis withdrew from the Waldensian church.[61] Professor E. Comba rightly remarks: "If foreign Protestantism was prompt in coming forward to help the evangelical mission in Italy, it is unfortunately true that by unwise

[60] The more prominent sowers of those ideas in that earliest period of the Italian mission were three men: Rey, Cremieux, Walker. The first converts adopted those views without realising how far they might be considered to be the views of Darby, which had already spread from Plymouth and Lausanne. The three ladies who bore the names of Johnson, Weston, and Brown, appeared at the last hour; after the banishment of the Waldensian evangelists they were left alone in the field, and, therefore, free to work as they liked. B. Malan used to call them the three "Plymouth Sisters." The centre of those ideas was a Genevan Committee, founded on the 21st June, 1848, in which Mr. Henri Tronchin acted as President and Charles Cremieux as Secretary.

[61] Dr. Luigi Desanctis later on came back to the Waldensian church, was appointed professor of theology in the Waldensian faculty, and died in Florence on the 31st December, 1869.

interference it brought with it seeds of dissension which unhappily bore fruit. How much better would it have been if those friends of the evangelical mission in Italy had stuck to the plan they had always boasted of as their own: to seek not the glory of man but the glory of Christ.'' [62]

There is no doubt that the spirit in which the various foreign committees have been and are now working in Italy, is wider, more judicious, and, therefore, more beneficent than that shown by the friends of the mission at its beginning. Still —why should we not admit it frankly?—even in our time, drawbacks are not wanting, which hinder the work from advancing. Come with me in spirit into one of the principal cities of Italy and see for yourselves the difficulties I am speaking of.

In wandering through the streets of that city, your attention is attracted by some special inscriptions on buildings: '' Methodist Episcopal Church ''; further on, '' Wesleyan Church ''; then, '' Baptist Church ''; then, '' Church of the Brethren.'' To you, an American or an Englishman, those names have a meaning; they stir up in your heart glorious recollections; they are names connected with religious movements which have

[62] Emilio Comba: *Storia de' Valdesi*, p. 379.

had an historical "raison d'être," a mission, and martyrs; they are the different sections of the Church in which from your childhood you have learned to love the Lord. But what meaning have they to an Italian?

Do not forget that the Italian who passes by and sees those inscriptions, is a man accustomed to the idea that the true Church is *one*. Certainly, unity in the Church of Rome is unity of form, not unity of spirit; but he has never been in the habit of inquiring too deeply; the Church, to be true, must be *one*, he thinks, and that is enough. Now, this man, when passing those several places of worship, and reading the different inscriptions, thinks at once: "Ah, they are foreigners, then! We have had quite enough of foreigners; they have domineered and harassed us long enough; only lately have we driven them out of our country; we do not want to see them return under the garb of religion. And, besides, they are divided; therefore, they are sects; they cannot belong to the Church; for the true Church is *one*." Then, further on, he reads the inscription: "Church of the Brethren." He reflects for a few moments, then says: "But if these are brethren, who are the others? Cousins, acquaintances, or strangers?"

How often have I thought: How beautiful if from the very beginning our brethren from beyond the Alps and beyond the seas had said: "We want to bring the Gospel to Italy; but we will not transplant into Italy our names and our ecclesiastical organisations; we will not make a kaleidoscopic reproduction of our religious denominationalism in Italy. We want to consider Italy as our common mission field. We shall work there not as Methodist Episcopalians, or as Wesleyans, or as Baptists, or as Plymouth Brethren, but simply as evangelists, as missionaries. We shall give Christ and the Gospel back to Italy; and the Church there shall have but one name: that of the *Evangelical Church of Italy;* the Spirit of Christ Himself will, in His own time, create an ecclesiastical form congenial to the nature, the traditions, and the aspirations of the converted people."

Why should we not do now what has been left undone up to the present? at this great moment when consciences are being awakened in Italy, when hearts are opening to the Gospel and souls are hungering and thirsting after what the Church of Rome, inasmuch as she has lost all sense of spirituality, is no longer able to give?

If what I suggest were done, another advantage, and a great one, would result from it. By con-

centrating so many and powerful energies into one common effort, one undenominational work, instead of having many and different places of worship, which often present a shabby and far from æsthetic appearance, it would be possible to have at least one or two churches in every town, built with good taste in the most central part, and built in such a way as not to be out of harmony with the artistic ecclesiastical monuments that are the glory and pride of our Italian cities. Under the shadow of those big churches we might have, here and there in every town, a number of mission halls where evangelists, no longer divided by denominational barriers, could preach Christ to the people, with one mind, with one heart, and following a strategic plan prepared with wisdom from on high, and in the spirit of united prayer.

The words of a great Italian who was really such also in mind and sentiment, are worth listening to: "I do not believe," said he, "that those Italian evangelical buildings which are so bare, and cold, and which look like places of public meetings to discuss commercial and worldly matters, are able to attract a people with such lively and fickle imagination as the Italians have. . . . The fact that the excessive outward form of the Roman

Catholic Church distracts and lulls the spiritual energies by tickling the senses and exciting the fancy and curiosity, does not mean that the Church must lack something able to dispose souls to meditation, to prayer, and to worship; something to make them feel that they are not in an ordinary place, but in the house of God."[63] Professor Mariano was right. Between an exaggerated ritualism which is the death of spirituality, and a place of worship frigid and prosaically barren, lies that just mean which is represented by a church severe, but not divested of that sober symbolism which answers to an imperious need of the heart, and which contributes to edification and helps to elevate the soul to God.

When, freed from this mortal coil, we enter the great temple of eternity, we shall no longer need either cathedrals or symbolism; but as long as our spirit is kept within the bounds of the flesh, we would not act wisely, I think, were we to persist in overlooking this æsthetic need which, among all needs of the heart, is one of the noblest and deepest. At any rate, we should be utterly in the wrong were we to insist on overlooking it while working amongst a people like the Italians, who

[63] Raffaele Mariano: *Il pensiero religioso in Italia.* A lecture given at the Ninth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in Florence, 1891.

have so delicate an artistic sense as to appear to be unable to worship in a place unless it be in unison with the vibrations of their souls, which cannot live but in an atmosphere of everlasting beauty.

VI

IN THE LAND OF EXILE

VI

IN THE LAND OF EXILE

THOSE who wish to make a complete study, in all its aspects, of the evangelical movement in Italy, must not neglect that land of exile where so many of our best men either ripened their religious convictions or found there the way of life. Information concerning this special phase of the movement is very scarce; nevertheless, I have done my best to gather the largest possible amount of genuine and reliable material. At the end of the chapter the reader will be able to judge whether this study of mine has been a useless digression, or if it has its legitimate place in the general economy of my work.

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In order to rightly understand and appreciate the things of which I shall have to speak, it is necessary for me to begin by reminding the reader of the wretched condition of Italy at the time to which I refer.

As soon as the armies of Wellington and Blücher had destroyed the unlimited power of Napoleon I at Waterloo on June 18th, 1815, the representatives of European Powers, convoked at Vienna [1] to regulate the destinies of Europe, resolved that Italy should be picked to pieces; and so she was, and remained so until 1859. No nation came out of the Congress of Vienna so maltreated as Italy. Just glance over the map of Italy of that time.

In the north, the kingdom of Sardinia, including Piedmont, Liguria, and Sardinia, was allotted to the House of Savoy ruled over by Victor Emanuel I; Lombardy and Venice were declared Austrian provinces; the Duchy of Modena and Reggio was parcelled out to the Austrian archduke, Francis IV; the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza to Marie Louise, the daughter of the Emperor of Austria and the wife of Napoleon I; the Grand Duchy of Tuscany to Ferdinand III of Lorraine; the Principality of Lucca to Marie Louise, a Bourbon, as regent for her son Charles Ludovic not yet of age; the Roman State to the Pope; the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily) to the Bourbon

[1] The Congress of Vienna of 1815, with its so-called *Final Act*, only continued and completed the work begun and suspended by the Congress of Paris in May, 1814.

Ferdinand IV; the Canton Tessin to Switzerland; the island of Malta to England; Corsica to France.

Also these "membra disjecta," directly or indirectly, were in the clutches of the Austrian eagle. Freedom of thought, speech, and conscience was everywhere punished by imprisonment, hard labour, or death. Public instruction was thwarted, and was in the hands of the Jesuits, who had been allowed to come to the fore again and had become omnipotent. Economical life languished because the political preoccupations of the time gave no room for any thought of agriculture, industry, and commerce.

Is it to be wondered at if on account of these wretched conditions secret societies should begin to arise? When tyranny tries its best to slay freedom of thought, of speech, and of conscience, it is natural and necessary that secret societies should spring up to keep alive the sacred ideal of fatherland, and to prepare the way for the ruin of despotism and the triumph of liberty. The secret societies which were formed in the various States of Italy after 1815 were several. I give the names of some of them: *I Pellegrini Bianchi* (The White Pilgrims); *I Protettori Repubblicani* (The Republican Protectors); *La Spilla Nera*

(The Black Pin); *Gli Oppressi, non vinti* (The Oppressed, but not Subdued); *La Speranza* (Hope); *I Fratelli* (The Brethren); *La Fusciacca Rossa* (The Red Tie); but the biggest and most important was that called *I Carbonari.* This society, which took its rise in the mountains of Abruzzo and Calabria and had for its aim the overthrow of all tyrants and the reconquest of freedom, had spread all over Italy. It is reckoned that in a very short time it numbered 800,000 members.[2]

The influence of these secret societies was immense. The movements and revolutions they planned and roused had not all a fortunate issue, for the times were not yet mature; but in the shade of those conventicles the sacred flame of the patriotic ideal was kept alive, ideas were ripened, and men were prepared for the future glorious struggle. The secret societies were to Italy and its political freedom what the Catacombs were to Christianity at the period of persecution.

Time fails me to describe here the interval between 1821 and 1831 which Italian history records with pages full of the glorious names of martyrs, and with the names of tyrants who were murdered

[2] The "Carboneria" was only a transformation of Freemasonry. Freemasons had the largest part in its foundation.

because they obstinately insisted on upholding by means of imprisonment and the gallows what they were in the habit of calling their divine right. In that terrible period the liberals of Piedmont were obliged to go into exile in order to free themselves from the hands of Carlo Felice, who well deserved the name of Carlo Feroce (the fierce); in Lombardy and Venice, men such as Silvio Pellico, Federico Confalonieri, Count Porro, Count Parravicini, Pietro Maroncelli, Carlo Oroboni were sent to the horrid prisons of Spielberg by Austria after most iniquitous trials; in the Two Sicilies, Francesco, the son of Ferdinand,[3] ruled through that inhuman beast Del Carretto, who used to send the heads of decapitated liberals throughout the kingdom, enclosed in iron cages. And I wish I could speak here of the revolutions of 1831 and of the stormy but important period between 1831 and 1848, the year of the first war of Italian Independence.[4] We must, however, make sail in another direction.

Before doing so, let me answer a question that may be raised at this point: How were things go-

[3] Ferdinand IV of the Bourbons, when he became King of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily), assumed the name of Ferdinand I. He died in 1825.

[4] It was on the night of the 22d and 23d of March, 1848, that the Ministry of Charles Albert decided to declare war on Austria.

ing on in the Papal States at that time? We ought to expect to be right in supposing that under a theocratic government which has always pretended to rule in the name of Christ and to take its inspiration from Christianity only, things were being managed, if not in an ideally perfect manner, at least better than anywhere else. Not at all. In the States of the Pontiff, under the wings of Papacy, things were going on badly, worse than in many other places.

The period between the Congress of Vienna and the year 1848 saw five Popes in the so-called St. Peter's chair. The first was Pius VII, who ruled until 1823. He was elected at Venice in 1804 after a very long Conclave. Released from prison, where he had been kept for almost five years by Napoleon I (whom he had crowned in Paris as Emperor in 1804), Pius VII re-established, in 1814, the order of the Jesuits which Clement VIII had abolished in 1773. Under him the reaction against all liberal movement was most violent. All liberals were persecuted to death. A society was founded about then called the "Society of the Sanfedisti." The members had to take the following oath: "Not to spare one of those belonging to the infamous liberal party, whatever his birth and his class or fortune in society. To have

no pity either for their children or the aged; to shed to the very last drop the blood of those villainous liberals, without consideration of sex or rank." When Pius VII died in 1823, Leo XII succeeded him. Having as a cardinal belonged to the reactionary party, he began at once to persecute men of liberal ideas. He turned out of the administration of the State the few laymen still remaining there, favoured the Jesuits and their schools, increased the privileges of the clergy, threatened with the severest punishment all transgressors of the commandments of the Church, persecuted the Jews, compelling them even to sell their property; and in a moment of antiprogressional rage prohibited even vaccination. Determined also to suppress all secret societies, which had grown in extraordinary numbers, Leo XII sent the terrible Cardinal Rivarola to Romagna, who, in 1825, in a single judgment passed sentence on 522 liberals, of whom 7 were put to death. Leo died in 1829; and Pius VIII took his place. He inaugurated his reign (which lasted only one year and eight months) by checking with great violence three small revolutions at Cesena, Imola, and Bologna. Gregory XVI, who followed Pius in 1831, continued the persecution of the liberals with ferocity. In Romagna there still lives the

awful remembrance of the hospitality granted in that same year to some thousands of soldiers of the Pope who, at Cesena and Forlì, perpetrated nameless atrocities, worthy of Nero. There is no doubt that under the government of Gregory XVI the Roman State reached its most despicable period. The Pope was an avowed enemy of all progress; he refused to admit railways, telegraphs, and scientific congresses in his States. Administration and justice were all in the hands of ecclesiastics; he caused ecclesiastical and political censure to be exercised in a pitiless way, public education was opposed, and industry and commerce languished. In Romagna, one of the noblest and most patriotic regions of Italy, he allowed a sect to arise called "the Centurions," which had as its aim the persecution of the liberals, and to whose members everything was allowed and forgiven; even crime, if committed on behalf of the "Holy Cause." No wonder that the spirit of all true patriots was deeply stirred within them. Twice, in 1843 and in 1845, they tried to throw off the papal yoke, but they did not succeed and had to atone for their noble daring by prison, exile, or by their lives. Gregory died in 1846, and sixteen days after, Pius IX was called upon to wear the tiara.

He inaugurated his reign by stopping all political inquisitions, by distributing alms generously, and by limiting the expenses of his Court; small things indeed, but which made the people hope too much from him. On 16th July, 1846, he published an ample decree of amnesty for all who had been exiled and condemned for political reasons. The news of this most merciful act ran throughout all Italy, exciting great joy and deep emotion everywhere, and the name of Pius IX was blessed all over the country. The decree of amnesty was followed by the appointment of Cardinal Gizzi, known to be a liberal, to the Secretaryship of State, and by the formation of special commissions charged to study possible reforms. Enthusiasm was greater than ever. In all towns and villages, festivals and illuminations were held in honour of the Pope. So the year 1846 closed in the midst of general rejoicing. The first months of 1847 brought with them nothing new, and symptoms of diffidence began to show themselves; but, in March, the law concerning the press was reformed, that of censorship mitigated, and other reforms were introduced. Universal enthusiasm was rekindled, and all, even the most diffident, seemed quite conquered by the reforming Pope; even Garibaldi and Mazzini wrote two famous let-

ters, urging him to take the Cause of Italian Independence to heart.

But, alas, the dream of the possibility of a liberal Pope was doomed not to last. On the night of the 22d and 23d March, 1848, Charles Albert's ministry resolved on war against Austria. In Piedmont and in other parts of Italy the enthusiasm for this national war was indescribable; everywhere the youth of the country rose in arms ready to hasten to Lombardy, where the destinies of Italy were about to be decided. Suddenly, however, while on the fields of Lombardy victory smiled upon the Italian army, Pius IX, who had bestowed his apostolic blessing on the troops moving to the front, startled the whole land by his new attitude. The enemies of Italian liberty had succeeded in frightening him by cunningly making him believe that if he continued to support the Italian campaign as he was doing, great schisms would surely take place in Germany and Austria; and he, finding himself with the alternative either of doing his duty as an Italian prince or listening to those who reminded him that before all he was the head of the Roman Catholic Church, abandoned the Italian war, and in the Encyclical of the 29th April declared that he, as the head of a religion of peace and charity, could not either wish or en-

courage war between the nations. The irritation caused by this act was great; and the name of Pius IX, which had hitherto been a symbol of national redemption, became the object of hatred and execration.

All this will suffice, I think, to prove my assertion that in the shadow of Papacy things were turning out badly, worse than anywhere else.

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Such were the miserable political conditions of Italy during the first half of the nineteenth century. I want my readers now to make the personal acquaintance of some of those men who were driven away by the storm of persecution into the land of exile and either found there the way of life, or were strengthened in their faith, and became, in the hands of God, powerful instruments for the advancement of His Kingdom.

Let us begin with Gabriele Rossetti. It is not necessary to tell you of Maria Francesca Rossetti, authoress of an interesting analytical commentary of Dante's poem, called "A Shadow of Dante," or of Dante Gabriele Rossetti the poet and Pre-Raphaelite painter, or of William Michael Rossetti, who attained such high rank as a critic both in literature and art, or of Christina Rossetti, who,

as William Sharp says, "has achieved a fame which no poetess except Mrs. Browning has equalled, and whose lovely lyrics are known to thousands both in England and in the Colonies, as well as to a large public in the United States."[5] This family of poets and artists is well known, but the father of those illustrious children is perhaps not so familiar to most; and this is not to be wondered at, considering that, though he was distinguished as a poet, the details of his life were, up to a short time ago, very little known even in Italy. And it is he who interests us in a special way in connection with our subject.

Gabriele Rossetti was born on the 1st March, 1783, at Vasto in Abruzzo. His parents were Niccolò Rossetti and Maria Francesca Pietrocola. At Vasto he went through his first studies. He was a born poet; an "improvvisatore"; and it was at Vasto that he extemporised his first verses, singing of the charming beauty of his Abruzzo. In 1799, when Gabriele was sixteen years old, a great and sudden convulsion shook his native town on the day of Epiphany. The mayor, Floriano Pietrocola, was found murdered in the church, and

[5] Maria Francesca was born in 1827; Dante Gabriele, whose full name was Gabriel Charles Dante Rossetti, was born in 1828; William Michael, in 1829; Christina Georgina, in 1830,

the whole town was in the hands of assassins and robbers.—"What does all this mean?" asked the bewildered young Rossetti.—"This, you see," some answered him, "is a revolution in favour of the legitimists and of the Roman Catholic religion, roused by the Jacobins." Gabriele, who was a young fellow of good heart and right mind, thought: "Surely, that cannot be the way to defend either the monarchy or the altar." The recollection of Floriano Pietrocola assassinated in a church in the name of the Church and of the legitimists haunted him night and day; and when he heard men talk in private of Jacobins, of the French, and of democratic government with the boldness allowed by the tyranny of the times, Gabriele's heart beat fast, and he began to prepare those lyrics which later on were destined to rouse and to call to liberty thousands and thousands of consciences, which had grown torpid during their moral and political bondage. In 1815 he entered the Carboneria, and in 1820 he was the bard of the Neapolitan revolution.

Here it will be necessary to go back to the events of the time.

The Congress of Vienna, as I have already said, allotted the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily) to the Bourbons. Ferdinand

IV, detested for the horrors he had committed in 1799, had returned from Sicily, where he had taken refuge in 1806, promising forgiveness to the rebels and freedom to all. But how did he keep his promise? As soon as he had assumed the name of Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies, he abolished the Constitution he had already granted to Sicily, and crushed the whole kingdom under that hard despotism which history records as an example of the most hateful and pitiless tyranny. Meanwhile, General Guglielmo Pepe, a staunch liberal, was spreading the ideas of the "Carboneria" throughout the army; so that it was to be expected that the first signal of revolution should come from the army; and it was so. On the 2d July, 1820, two lieutenants of the Nola garrison, with a hundred soldiers, left the barracks and stirred up the liberals everywhere with the cry of "Freedom!" and "Constitution!" The revolution extended to all the Neapolitan country. Ferdinand at first tried to subdue it; then, concealing his rage, he promised to give his people the Constitution, and it was arranged that he was to take the oath on the 13th July. On that day, while the people were waiting impatiently for the King, who, in a most aggravating manner, delayed going to the church of Santo Spirito to take the oath,

Gabriele Rossetti improvised a very fine sonnet at the "Caffè d'Italia," which is known to few, and was published for the first time in 1861 by a nephew of the poet.[6] The King pledged his oath to the Constitution (which was the same as that of Spain); and in order to throw dust in the eyes of the people, added, of his own accord, the following words to the formula of the oath: "Almighty God, who, with Thy infinite insight readest the human soul and the future, do Thou send down the thunderbolts of Thy vengeance on my head this very moment, if I lie or come short of my promise."

Rossetti greeted the Constitution with a poem that became almost the official hymn of the revolution and which is one of the gems of our Italian

[6] This is the sonnet:

Sire, che attendi più? Lo scettro ispano
Già infranto cadde al suol, funesto esempio
A chi resta a regnar! Vindice mano
Gli sta sul capo, che ne vuol lo scempio.
Sire, che attendi più? l'orgoglio insano
Ceda al pubblico voto: il fôro, il tempio
Voglion la morte tua—resiste invano
Il debil cortigiano, il vile e l'empio!
Soli non siam; fin da remoti lidi
Grido di morte ai despoti rimbomba . . . .
Passa il tempo a tuo danno, e non decidi?
Sire, che attendi più? già il folgor piomba . . . .
O il tuo regnar col popolo dividi,
O sul trono aborrito avrai la tomba.

literature. The greatest of modern Italian poets, Giosuè Carducci, wrote: "The thirty stanzas of this hymn, magnificent in its classic imagery, and sung for many a long time in an undertone by women and children, cost the poet thirty long years of exile followed by death in a foreign land." Three months after the solemn oath, which he had taken hypocritically, Ferdinand I, taking the opportunity afforded him by the Congress of Troppau,[7] cancelled the Constitution and again imposed despotism on the land. On the 23d March, 1821, 50,000 Austrians entered Naples to re-establish the old, hated, tyrannical government. On the 15th May King Ferdinand returned to Naples; and backed by 35,000 Austrians, who remained in his kingdom to repress the fury of the betrayed people, began his persecution and his revenge. In a decree dated 10th April, the treach-

[7] The Congress of Troppau (Austrian Silesia) was held in October, 1820. The sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, with the representatives of France and England, met first at Troppau and then at Lubiana to discuss the events in Italy. The King of Naples also was invited to attend; and he, after having left the regency to his son Francesco, went there promising his subjects that he would defend the Constitution he had sworn to maintain. As soon as he arrived, the allies communicated to him that it was their intention to re-establish in Naples the old absolute régime; and he, without making the slightest objection, wrote to Francesco, the Regent, on the 28th January, 1821, directing him to respect and accept the wish expressed by the allied sovereigns!

erous King condemned to death all the "Carbonari"; and Rossetti especially was aimed at. Canosa, who was then the head of the police, ordered his sbirri to seize him dead or alive. Rossetti took refuge in the cellar of a house, and remained there for three months, from March to June. The hiding place was insecure; how was it possible to rescue him? God did it, in one of His marvellous providential ways.

In 1820 a squadron of the British fleet, under the command of Admiral Sir Graham Moore, had entered the Bay of Naples. Lady Moore, who knew Rossetti's poems, wished to make the personal acquaintance of the poet. Rossetti, who was at that time custodian of the Museum of Antiquities in Naples, was introduced to the Admiral and his wife, who liked him and often invited him to their house. Now Lady Graham did not want to abandon the poet in his misfortune, and persuaded her husband to save him. The Admiral learnt where the poet was hidden, and sent two of his officers there with a naval uniform. Rossetti put it on, left the house arm-in-arm with his protectors, crossed Naples in broad daylight in a cab, and at Santa Lucia entered the boat which was to take him safe and sound on board the *Rochefort*. When Sir Graham Moore, before

weighing anchor, went, as he was bound to do, to take leave of Ferdinand, the King, almost unable to control his anger, asked him insolently to give up the rebel he had on board. To which Sir Graham answered sternly: "A British Admiral never commits such meanness"; and turned his back on him.

Rossetti remained three years in Malta, protected by the governor of the island, Sir John Hookham Frere, who was a warm admirer of the poet's talents. Rossetti often improvised in the big hall of the governor before the most intellectual company. One day, inspired by the suggestive recollections of the island, he filled all with indescribable enthusiasm, by improvising a poem on the "Shipwreck of St. Paul." Early in 1825 he went to London, where a year later he married Frances Polidori, sister of Dr. Polidori, who travelled with Lord Byron, and daughter of Signor Polidori, secretary to Alfieri. In 1831 he obtained the post of Professor of Italian Literature at King's College, which he occupied till 1845, when he practically lost his sight, and in consequence resigned the chair; but though partially deprived of the use of his eyes, he retained his health for a considerable time, his death not taking place till the 26th April, 1854. He died poor, but enriched

Italy to the last with songs which will never die, and bequeathed to the land of his adoption, through his children, a rich contribution of new strength to its intellectual and artistic life.

This is not the time or place to speak of Rossetti's works;[8] may I be allowed, however, to point out in a few words his ideal. It was at one time a political and religious one. "Rossetti's principles," wrote Carducci, "shine clearly in each of his songs, and they are: the unity of Italy; a representative monarchy grounded on popular institutions; the abolition of the secular power and spiritual tyranny of Rome; brotherhood among oppressed nations."

How could such an ideal as that flash into Rossetti's mind when, with the same perfect clearness at least, during that third period of the Italian revolution, it never flashed into the mind of other men, who, as far as originality of thought, excellency of form and power of style are concerned, were superior to him?

Rossetti obtained his ideal from the Gospel.

[8] The principal works, in prose, of Gabriel Rossetti are: *Comento analitico sulla Divina Commedia* (1826-1827), *Sullo spirito Anti-papale* (1832), *Il mistero dell' amor platonico rivelato* (1840), *La Beatrice di Dante* (1852). His most noted poetical works are: *Dio e l'uomo* (1840), *Il Veggente in solitudine* (1846), *Poesie* (1847), *L'Arpa Evangelica* (1852).

The great poet, driven from his country for political reasons, through God's providence found Christ and the Gospel in the land of his exile.[9] For twenty years he gave most careful attention to spiritual problems. The Bible became his favourite book. Through the letter of the New Testament he found the living person of Christ; and Christ became his supporter in time of distress, his light in the time of his blindness, his comfort in the supreme crisis of his last hour.[10]

After Gabriele Rossetti comes Luigi Desanctis,[11] Doctor of Divinity in the Church of Rome. He was born in Rome on the 31st December, 1808; and after a very brilliant ecclesiastical career, he was called in 1840 to the rectorship of the Maddalena della Rotonda in Rome. By the study of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and history, he was convinced of the errors of Rome, and in 1847 left the Church. He went to Malta; there he preached the Gospel for the first time in connection with the Evangelical church. In 1848, at

[9] When on the 4th November, 1911, the bust of Gabriele Rossetti was unveiled in Rome on the Pincio, not one of the speakers thought of or had the courage to point out the fact that the poet, in 1852, in one of his religious writings (*L'Eucarestia*) had said: "With this writing I most earnestly intend to renounce Popery and to adhere to the true Evangelical doctrine."

[10] Giovanni Luzzi: *Le idee religiose di Gabriele Rossetti.* Florence, 1903.

[11] Alete: *Biografia di Luigi Desanctis.* Firenze, 1870.

Florence, Leghorn, and Lucca, he took an active part in the first Tuscan missionary efforts, as I have already mentioned. He returned to Malta, and in 1850 went to Geneva; thence to Paris and London; and in '56 and '57 began missionary work in Piedmont and Lombardy. It is impossible for me here to retrace the missionary vicissitudes of this great man of God to whom Protestant Italy owes her best essays on dogmatics and tracts on polemics. When he passed away on the 31st December, 1869, at Florence, he was Professor of Apologetics, Polemics, and Practical Theology in the Waldensian Faculty of Divinity, which had called him to the chair in May, 1868.

Then comes Camillo Mapei, another "improvisatore," and from the same part of Italy as Rossetti: Abruzzo. He was born in 1809 at Nocciano, a small country town. He became a Canon and a Professor of Dogmatics and Ethics in the Roman Church. Brought up in a place where superstition was rife and in the midst of degrading political slavery, he still remained a believer but without Roman bigotry, and devoted himself to the Italian liberal cause. In 1840, when persecuted by the police, he was obliged to flee and find refuge in exile. I have narrated in a special

volume[12] the dramatic history of his perilous flight and of his adventurous life. I have recorded there how he was dogged by the Inquisition in Rome; how he was nearly drowned at sea; how he was attacked by Bedouins in Algiers; how, reduced to starvation, he became a shoeblack in Marseilles; how, when in Malta, he was in great danger of his life; how he was expelled from there and went to London; how then followed his religious crisis, his conversion to Christ, his utter poverty, his struggles, his apostolate in England, Scotland, Ireland, and his peaceful death in an hospital in Dublin on the 18th April, 1853. Protestant Italy owes to Gabriele Rossetti first, and then to Camillo Mapei, the best part of her Christian hymnology.

Then comes Alessandro Gavazzi, the giant evangelist of the heroic period of the Italian mission. He was born in Bologna in 1809, and was the second of twenty-five children. At fifteen he entered the Barnabite Order, and in 1833, on account of his exceptional eloquence, was appointed preacher of the Order. But the Order was too narrow a sphere for his great Christian heart and patriotic soul. He was in Rome when, in 1848, the news arrived of the triumph of the revolution in Lombardy.

[12] Giovanni Luzzi: *Camillo Mapei: Esule. Confessore. Innografo.* Firenze, 1895.

Gavazzi ascended the Capitol; and on that historical hill commemorated those who died for the fatherland, and stirred the people up to a state of delirium. Pius IX himself appointed him chaplain to the volunteers called out to help the Lombard brethren; and while Rome was preparing soldiers and arms, Gavazzi preached in the Coliseum with extraordinary eloquence almost every day for two whole months. Then he left for the front, wearing the white Barnabite dress and with the red cross on his bosom; and as a novel Peter the Hermit, he preached everywhere a holy war against the foreign dominion in Italy. He fought as a hero with word and sword; and while the exterminating angel of death was passing over the fields where the destinies of Italy were being decided, Gavazzi brought words of comfort and peace to the wounded and dying. In 1849, during the short but glorious period of the Roman Republic, he was appointed Inspector of the Hospitals and Head Chaplain of the Republican army. When the Republic fell, he escaped with his faithful companion Ugo Bassi, who, betrayed by a spy, was shot at Bologna by the Austrians. More fortunate than his friend, Gavazzi was able to take refuge in the house of the American Consul in Rome; and armed with a passport granted by the French

general Oudinot, he embarked and arrived safely in London. On his arrival in that metropolis, he began to give lessons in Italian, but had great difficulty in keeping the wolf from the door. After months of semi-starvation, two of his orations to his fellow-countrymen were, happily, translated in *The Daily News* by Father Prout, and Gavazzi became famous. Then he went through Great Britain and Ireland, Canada and the United States, for three or four years, drawing crowds to the largest halls and enlisting universal sympathy by his monk's garb, his fiery delivery, his eloquent denunciation of Pius IX and Romish oppression, and his earnest warnings against the Puseyite viper which was being fondled in the generous bosom of England. And let it be said to his honour: that all proceeds of his lectures were given to his brother exiles and to the Protestant schools in Turin. In 1858, as a result of close study of the Bible and contact with earnest Christians, the greatest event in Gavazzi's life took place: his conversion to God through a deep conviction of sin and a humble and sincere faith in his Saviour. From that day his life was consecrated to evangelical work. In '60 he followed Garibaldi in his campaign in Sicily; in '66 and '67 he followed him to the Tyrol and to Mentana, but always to

attend to the wounded, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to circulate Bibles and tracts. When not so engaged, he was busy, from 1858 to 1870, in preaching and holding missionary meetings in all the large towns of his native land. He did so with such a happy effect, that in Italy not many years ago you could scarcely meet with an individual in any rank of life who did not know and respect the great name of Alessandro Gavazzi. He was called home suddenly on the 9th January, 1889, in Rome. He died poor as he had always lived; he, who had enriched so many with the inexhaustible treasures of his eloquence, his faith, and his large heart.

Time fails me to speak of Salvatore Ferretti,[13] the modest evangelist, the indefatigable London editor of Italian literature for evangelical propaganda, the intimate friend of Gabriele Rossetti and Camillo Mapei, the philanthropist, the father of the fatherless, the brother of the exiles;—of Filippo Pistrucci, the noble representative of a whole family of heroes whose name is dear to Italy; a Roman by birth and soul; an "improvisatore" also, and a staunch patriot and Christian who well understood that the secret of true

[13] Salvatore Ferretti, son of Girolamo Ferretti and Stella Stettiner, was born in Florence on the 15th September, 1817, and died there on the 4th May, 1874.

and lasting redemption for Italy was to be found in the Gospel;—and of a crowd of others, whom I should like much to record here; but the few I have been able to mention will suffice to give you an idea of what kind of stuff the men were whom God, in ways so various, dramatic, and often tragic, called and prepared to announce the Word of Life to Italy.

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Italian emigration during the classic period of the redemption of Italy was evidently either political, or anti-papal, or political and anti-papal at one and the same time; it became evangelical only little by little. The principal centres where that gradual transformation took place, may be reduced to three: Malta, Geneva, and London. To mention them thus is not to mention them in chronological order, but according to their respective importance.

In fact, the least important of the three was the Maltese centre. On account of its geographical position, Malta was the first and nearest refuge for ex-priests and ex-monks flying from the clutches of the Roman Church. The English friends of the Italian evangelical mission had in 1841 already procured the means to found an

Italian church in Malta. At her head was placed Giacinto Achilli, an ex-Carmelite monk, who, however, did not leave too good a name in the history of the mission there. Achilli, Leonini, Crespi, Moscardi, were some of the ex-Roman ecclesiastics who formed the nucleus of the Italian church of Malta. In May, 1846, a monthly religious paper appeared in the island for the first time, called the *Indicatore* (the Indicator). It lived two years only. Desanctis published in it his letter to the Roman authorities in which he stated the reasons which compelled him to leave the Church of Rome,[14] and four other letters addressed to his bishop, Cardinal Patrizi. When the *Indicatore* ceased to appear, Desanctis started the *Cattolico Cristiano* (the Catholic Christian), on the 1st November, 1848, which excited a great sensation in Malta and elsewhere, and had the honour of being censured by the Bishop of Malta. During Desanctis' residence in the island, the Maltese church flourished as she had never done before nor ever did after. But the ground was hard; the islanders had not changed much since the days of St. Paul, and superstition and immorality ruled in the

[14] He published it on the 1st October, 1847. It was the letter by which he severed himself from Rome and which he wrote from Ancona to Father Togni, General of the Order "dei Chierici Regolari."

island. Achilli, Desanctis and the other ex-priests and ex-monks could find no one willing to house them. Bakers and butchers refused to sell them bread and meat, and all because the poor exiles had left the Roman Church! After the fall of the Roman Republic in 1849 many of those who had heroically defended it, sought refuge in Malta. Would you believe it? They could scarcely land, as the islanders wanted to kill all the supposed profaners of the holy city. "The Maltese," wrote one of those exiles, "are so grossly superstitious that, for instance, they do not pray to saints or Madonnas for rain in times of drought, but to the souls in purgatory; and they do so for business reasons; the souls in purgatory assure an answer within three days of prayer. They are, therefore, much less exacting than the saints and the Madonnas, who take their own time to respond." No wonder that the evangelical missionary work could never become deeply rooted in such a refractory island.

The Genevan centre was much more attractive. Geneva had already an Italian church in 1542, in the century of the Reformation; Bernardino Ochino, the great converted friar, was the first who had then the privilege of being called to gather together his fellow-countrymen and to be their

pastor. The church passed through a dangerous crisis when, in 1545, Ochino was obliged to leave; but God sent another man: Galeazzo Caracciolo, who came to Geneva on the 8th June, 1551, to continue the work. In 1552 the Genevan Italian community was for the first time regularly organised. On account of the numerous immigrants from Lucca in 1555, the Italian church there became more important than ever; so much so that the need of a more complete system of organisation was felt. This was in 1556;[15] then followed a sad period of dogmatic disputes and of internal discords; notwithstanding, the church continued to live and to spread beneficial influence around until the Italian element disappeared, completely absorbed by the Genevan population.

[15] The Italian-Genevan Church was, in 1556, organised on a purely congregationalist basis, and had a *general assembly* (*congregazione generale*) composed of all the Italians inscribed on the roll of the church. This assembly elected all the office-bearers of the church. To the *minister* (*ministro*) a *catechist* (*catechista*) was added. The lay element was represented by four *elders* (*seniori*) and by four *deacons* (*diaconi*). One of these last four was the *treasurer* (*borsiero*). These officers constituted the *consistory* (*collegio*) of the Italian Church. Elders and deacons were elected for a year and could be re-elected. To them was entrusted the care of visiting the poor and the sick. Every elder had the charge of a *quarter* (*quartiere*) of the town. The congregation had, besides, the *church musician* (*il musico della chiesa*). The Italian Genevan Church had at the beginning a collection of 50 Psalms. The collection, in 1556, was enlarged and printed.

Geneva, which had opened wide her arms to welcome the exiles during the century of the Reformation, again opened them to welcome the new exiles in the first half of the nineteenth century. These exiles, banished from their own land, found spiritual freedom in the hospitable city of Geneva, and inaugurated there, on the 10th October, 1853, the "Italian Evangelical Community." Forty members of this community sent out a warm appeal to the public on the 10th November, 1853, containing a brief, clear, and decided Evangelical Confession of Faith, which concluded as follows: "In 1542, in this very city, the Italian exiles who fled from the stake with a Bible in their hand and Christ in their heart, laid the foundation of an Italian church. This church was greatly blessed, she cared for many, and helped many in their journey heavenwards, until at last the Italian element was blended with the Swiss. The present Italian Evangelical Community aspires to continue that beautiful patriotic tradition and to raise a new and spiritual church. Who knows if this church is not destined to become a refuge to new believers and a haven of rest to fresh victims of papal intolerance which, though seemingly weary, is not yet satiated with human victims! Christian friends of all lands, pray that this wish of

ours may be realised; receive our brotherly kiss, and may the peace of the Lord be with you!"

The most important centre of the Italian mission, however, was London.

At the time we are speaking of, the first institution we find in this centre is the "Scuola gratuita italiana" (the "Italian Free School"), founded by Giuseppe Mazzini on the 10th November, 1841. It lived and flourished from '41 to '48; then it stagnated, giving only intermittent signs of life. At the time of the exile, it was the connecting link between the evangelical movement which aimed at redeeming Italy morally and spiritually, and the political movement which aimed at redeeming the land from the yoke of the tyrants and from all foreign oppression. Two names are especially connected with the beginning of the school: Giuseppe Mazzini and Filippo Pistrucci. Pistrucci represented the evangelical idea; Mazzini the political, because Mazzini never could conceive the two as separated from each other.

What was the aim of the school?

"The school," said Mazzini, "was intended to give moral and intellectual instruction to several hundreds of children and semi-civilised organ-grinders who, after having laid down their organs, used to come and sit on the school benches for

half an hour in the evening, between nine and ten. At first, driven by sheer curiosity and almost afraid, they peeped into our very modest rooms;[16] then, little by little, conquered by the loving manners of the teachers, they became more amenable, and finished by fraternising cheerfully with their fellows, and ended by experiencing a new feeling of dignity and pride, awakened by the idea of being able to return to their country, well educated." Every Sunday Pistrucci conversed with the pupils on moral subjects and especially on the duties of man. Each anniversary of the school was celebrated with solemnity. All the pupils, about 300, were present; the exiles, too, were naturally invited together with the friends of the work; prizes were distributed to the most diligent and most regular, which consisted of Bibles, New Testaments, other books, and medals. Mazzini himself distributed them. I dearly love to record all these facts; because, though it is true that Giuseppe Mazzini was not a Christian in the orthodox sense of the word, still we know that he drew his highest ideals from the Bible, and that from his youth he loved the Bible above all other books. When he had to protect his school in London from the iniquitous attacks of the priests, he

[16] The school, in London, had its seat at 5 Hatton Gardens.

most emphatically affirmed that he wanted the Italians to think seriously about religion, to abandon the corrupt practices of Rome, and to embrace the religion which Christ had given to humanity.

The press also had its mission in London; and well worthy of mention is the heroic monthly *Eco di Savonarola* (the Echo of Savonarola), which was launched and edited by the valiant Salvatore Ferretti, appeared regularly from 1847 to 1854, and afterwards, intermittently, until 1860. It bore as a motto: Acts xvii. 11, and the words of Savonarola: "Italia renovabitur." The first contributors were nine ex-priests or ex-monks and three laymen, namely: Gabriele Rossetti, Filippo Pistrucci, and a certain Sperandio Tacchella.

What did the paper aim at?

"Our aim," wrote Salvatore Ferretti, "is to fight the abuses of the Roman Church, infidelity, indifference, hypocrisy; to proclaim the religion of Jesus Christ, the Gospel of love and peace in all its purity, such as it has been revealed in the Holy Scriptures, which are and shall always be the Word of eternal life. The *Echo of Savonarola* has for its aim the bringing back to the simplicity of apostolic times of those Italians who have been led astray, leaving at the same time their con-

science free as far as concerns other secondary matters not contradictory to the fundamental truth of Christianity."

In 1852 the Newspaper Press Directory had words of high praise for the *Echo,* and even *Punch* took notice of it. It said: " There is in London a small but bold brother of ours, called the *Echo of Savonarola.* We believe they have given him that name, because it will answer." The paper was issued at the cost of enormous sacrifices. All who wrote in it did so without payment; and the editor, after four years of heavy labour, was $150 out of pocket. The Italians able to subscribe were few in the land of exile; and there were then few in England able to read an Italian paper; besides, it was sent gratis throughout Italy, America, Malta, France, Switzerland, Turkey, Greece, wherever the editor knew that some of his fellow-countrymen were.

It was easy to foresee that Rome would denounce the paper. Nevertheless, in spite of the thunderbolts of the Vatican and the lynx-eyed political and religious Inquisition, the *Echo* found its way to the very centre of Italy and even into the Vatican, whence the editor received " letters of encouragement and of true Christian sympathy." But excommunication had to come, and

it did about the end of 1847; and Salvatore Ferretti, in January, 1848, wrote: "We believe our readers will be pleased to know that the *Echo of Savonarola* and its writers have had the honour of papal excommunication bestowed upon them, and have had their names written 'ad perpetuam memoriam' in the so-called 'Index of Prohibited Books.' Notwithstanding, the *Echo of Savonarola* will continue to circulate as usual in every part of the earth where Italians are. We consider this excommunication as a special blessing from the Lord, for experience has taught us over and over again that to prohibit a book is the surest way to make it read all the more widely."

The exiles in London grouped themselves also into a society which they called the "Italian Mutual Help Society." It was founded on the 18th July, 1847. The first report issued by the society bears the names of 85 Italians, all subscribers; and the list at the end of the report, instead of being headed as it usually is: "Contributions" or "List of Subscribers," etc., was headed thus: "Brethren." The spirit with which the whole society was animated is expressed in the words of the report, which begins: "This society was started in compliance with the doctrine of Jesus Christ, who says: 'A new commandment I give

unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' This society is, therefore, grounded on Christian brotherhood, tolerance, and freedom; and these principles must be the rule of every brother, in public and in private, in his relations to other brethren, and in all committee meetings."

The exiles had also a church in London. On the 6th July, 1847, the ex-Dominican Giacinto Achilli advocated the cause of the Italian church in Exeter Hall. In two consecutive meetings,[17] presided over by G. B. Di Menna, an ex-Roman theologian, all was settled: the Confession of faith (perfectly orthodox), the organisation (inclining towards the Plymouth type), and the liturgy (modelled on the Presbyterian pattern). The church was founded; and the intimations, which were circulated among the London exiles, ran thus: "Italians residing in London are invited to attend the meeting which takes place every Sunday at 7 Sidmouth Street, Gray's-Inn-Road, at 5.30 P.M. After the prayers, the singing of hymns and the reading of the Holy Scriptures,

[17] The meetings were held at 2 Chapel Street, Bedford Row, on the 25th July and on the 1st August, 1847.

a discourse is always delivered on evangelical truths. . . . All those who no longer believe in the imposture of Rome and love the Gospel of Jesus Christ, are invited to the above mentioned chapel. The worship held there is as it ought to be: 'in spirit and in truth. . . .' Italians! Before trying to reform your fatherland, reform yourselves. What shall it profit if you shall gain the whole world and lose your own souls? Think of it."

The church that was born thus in the land of exile and that gathered around her the best part of the Italian emigrants in London, was, according to her founders' idea, destined not to live and die in the land of exile, but to cross the Channel and the Alps and to fix her tents in Italy as soon as political circumstances should allow.

What ideal had she in view?

Salvatore Ferretti, who, with Camillo Mapei, was one of the columns of the London church, stated it thus: "We do not want to establish in Italy an English, French, or Swiss Protestant Church, but an *Italian Christian reformed Church.* How wonderful that is! The first cry for reform heard in Italy was that of Savonarola: Martin Luther did nothing but what the Italian prophet had advised should be done. And what is still

more wonderful is that while the religion of Jesus Christ had been corrupted throughout Europe, it had kept its apostolic purity in Italy. When all Christianity was plunged in darkness, the light of the Gospel was shining among the simple inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys."

According to the ideal of those London emigrants the Italian church which they had founded in the land of exile, should not only be in time transplanted into Italy, but should unite there with the great and ancient mother-church, the church of the valleys. So when, on the 15th December, 1853, the Waldensian church was inaugurated in Turin, which the Edict of Emancipation had made possible, Gabriele Rossetti, the inspired psalmist of the exiles, thus sang:

"S'io non fossi sì vecchio, e gli occhi miei
non fosser tai che quasi nulla io scerno,
come in pellegrinaggio avido andrei
in quel bel Tempio ad adorar l'Eterno;
e manderei dal cor questa preghiera
ch'io godo replicar mattina e sera:

. . . . . .

Sia questa Chiesa, cara all' alma mia,
Chiesa di tutta Italia. E così sia."

(Were I not so old, and were not my eyes
such that almost naught can I discern,
how eagerly should I, as in pilgrimage, go,
to that beautiful Temple, to worship the Eternal;

and from my heart this prayer should I utter,
which morning and evening I love to repeat:

. . . . . .

May this Church, that is so beloved to my soul,
become the Church of all Italy. Amen.)

The intimations circulated among the Italians in London said that at the meetings, after the prayers and the reading of the Scriptures, "Hymns would be sung."

What hymns?

To the indefatigable activity of Salvatore Ferretti the Italian church of London owed a Collection of Hymns which occupies an important place in the history of the Italian evangelical hymnology. The Hymnary I am alluding to contained 60 hymns, 9 Psalms, and 12 original hymn tunes. Of the 60 hymns, 33 were composed by Mapei; 8 by Ferretti, 1 was sent by an anonymous poet from Italy, 2 were taken from the *Veggente in solitudine* (*The Seer in Solitude*) by Gabriele Rossetti, and 16 were original hymns by Rossetti. The 9 Psalms were either free versions of biblical Psalms, or original Psalms by Mapei, Margolfo, and Gabriele Rossetti. The 12 hymn tunes were composed by Catrufo and Minasi, two Neapolitans; Salvadori, a Florentine; Aspa, a Sicilian, and Bertioli, a Tyrolese. The Hymnary

was, therefore, truly Italian, with original words and original music.

The Italian evangelical hymnology, the lyric expression of what overflowed from the hearts of the Italians during the first half of the nineteenth century, after they had left the Roman Church for the purity of the Gospel, was born during the revolution and first saw light in the land of exile. The best hymns among those which are sung at the present time in evangelical meetings throughout the whole Peninsula were composed in London; there they stirred the hearts of patriots longing to see Italy emancipated not only politically but also morally. Then they crossed the Channel to bring comfort to the conventicles of brethren in Italy during the wretched times of the slavery of conscience; and they kept alive in the hearts of our martyrs the hope and trust for those better days which they did not see, but fondly welcomed from afar.

The fact that the Italian evangelical hymnology was born during the revolution and first saw its light in the land of exile explains the reason why it lacks that deep sense of piety which moves souls who have arrived at the maturity of their Christian life. The hymnologists of the epic age of the Italian mission were patriots and fugitives, who

had reached Christ through their political struggles and with hearts full of abhorrence for the Papacy and those foreign tyrants who had done their best to see them hang from the gibbet or rot in jail. Those early hymns are not lacking in an eager desire for the Divine, an inspiration towards Christ, a longing for the heavenly Home; no, but more than all that, you feel in them the craving for their far-away beloved Italy, and an ardent desire to see, some time or other, the Vatican crushed and the dear fatherland freed from the clutches of Italian and foreign relentless fiends. They have scarcely any idea of the soaring, throbbing abandonment of a life developing in the atmosphere of spiritual experience and of mystical union with Christ. Christ lived, yes, in those hymnologists; but their Christian life had had neither time nor opportunity to ripen. The churches, however, which have since arisen and multiplied, have developed spiritually in a normal way; and their successive Hymnaries, that is to say, the thermometers of their spiritual life, have steadily marked points higher and higher on the scale of their spirituality and of the perfecting of their Christian sentiment. And the further they progress in that direction under the omnipotent action of the Spirit of God the more their hymnody

will become what it really ought to be: a heavenly voice answering to the deepest needs of the human heart; a cry emancipating man from the slavery of egoism; an inspiration springing from a pure and sacred love; a mysterious "something" that in the midst of so many different nationalities and so many religious confessions restores the divine harmony which we, with our poor hearts and with our narrow-mindedness, seem but to disturb continually.

VII

MODERNISM, OR THE PRESENT EFFORT FOR REFORM WITHIN THE ROMAN CHURCH

VII

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THE term "modernism" is quite familiar to us all. Every one talks of modernism; discusses it; but . . . what is modernism?

A short, exact, comprehensive definition of it is impossible to give, for it is a complex phenomenon; and a conglomeration of several different phenomena cannot be defined by a single formula. Nor can the term "modernism" itself lead us to a precise conception of this great movement. The term was not bestowed on the movement by the modernists. As the name "Christian," whether of Latin or Greek origin, was undoubtedly coined by the pagan inhabitants of Antioch to censure and despise the disciples of Christ, so the name "modernism" has been coined by the enemies of the new movement to discredit and condemn it. This is why the name does not help

us in the least to understand what the movement is. The Jesuit fathers of Rome invented the term. Leo XIII and Pius X got hold of it and gave it a kind of theological and ecclesiastical consecration. The official Roman Catholic press received it from the hands of the two Popes, it came into use at once, and is now still used to distinguish and condemn everybody and everything that is not in perfect communion of thought and ideals with the Vatican. Higher criticism, Christian democracy, loyalty to a united Italy with Rome as the capital, aspirations to a reform within the Church, longings for a purer and more spiritual form of Christianity, all that and more is "modernism for the Vatican." In the estimation of the Curia modernism is just "a huge covering that hides a multitude of sins." In fact, the Vatican has defined it as "a satanic cry of rebellion against religion from the bosom of the Church." Such a definition is an exaggeration due to nothing but fear. In reality "modernism" is a cry of rebellion not against religion, but against the tyranny of the Curia; it is an aspiration to a reform within the Church of Rome; a longing for a purer form of religion, for a return to the primitive simplicity of faith, for a

wider, higher interpretation of Christianity more compatible with modern conscience.

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Let no one be deceived about the importance of the movement. The very fact that the Vatican is afraid of it should be sufficient to prove that it is serious and menacing. But much more than that. In an article I wrote in January, 1911, for the *Hibbert Journal*,[1] explaining the importance of this movement, I said: "Modernism is not a system; it is the synthesis of several new directions taken by theological and ecclesiastical thought in the Roman Church"; and I traced out five of these different directions: (1) That followed by a group of noble souls who grieve to see popular piety attacked by the disease of an exaggerated and hysterical sentimentalism, and fossilised into a nerveless formalism; (2) that followed by a group of still more daring modernists, who have already completely disposed of the question of the temporal power of the Pope, and who say frankly: "In the Church a reform now is necessary to lead back the flock of Christ to the spirit of the Gospel"; (3) that followed by the

[1] Prof. Giovanni Luzzi, D.D.: *The Roman Catholic Church in Italy at the Present Hour. Hibbert Journal*, January, 1911.

hypercritical modernists, who have been spiritually nourished by German rationalistic theology; (4) that followed by the group of modernists of the Christian Democracy led by Romolo Murri; and finally (5) that followed by a group of practical modernists anxious to lead the people back to the true source of spiritual life and to place their consciences again in immediate contact with the Christ of the Gospel. They rightly thought this was the only way to arrive at the spiritualisation of worship and the restoration of dogmatic formula which the Church longs for, and they, therefore, founded the *Pious Society of St. Jerome* for the spread of the Holy Gospels." Scarcely two years have elapsed since I wrote the article, and my division into five directions does not hold good any longer, for, while the first two still remain unaffected, I may safely say that there is no more a question of the other three. The hypercritics have progressed; and have progressed so far as to consider Christianity a form of religion already superseded, and the Church as unworthy of their serious consideration. Christian democracy, abandoned as it has been by Romolo Murri, and so left without a leader, has been disbanded. The *Pious Society of St. Jerome* is dead and buried. One would, therefore, almost

feel inclined to believe that modernism is dead also; that it has only been a dream, a beautiful dream, but nothing more than a dream.

To think so would indeed simply be the grossest of errors.

Modernism lives, it is stronger than ever, it has invaded the whole of the clergy and the whole of the Church, and it has won the sympathy of a large and thoughtful part of the laity which a few years ago smiled with compassion when the term "modernism" was mentioned. Leone Caetani, a member of the Italian Parliament and one of that great Roman family who claims as an ancestor Boniface VIII, says: "Modernism, the wood-worm, the deadly bacillus which will eventually kill papal Catholicism, is the purest expression of the present religious conscience. Modernism is not a school, but a vague, general tendency, an indefinable sentiment, without exact limits, without any settled goal, without discipline, and without leaders. Whoever has the least shadow of a doubt concerning the most insignificant part of the religious edifice of Roman Catholicism, is already a modernist. The vagueness of its character constitutes its greatest strength, inasmuch as it shows the universality of its tendency and the impossibility of fighting it effectually. It is

everywhere and nowhere; it is unseizable, but always more alive and evident than ever. The Church of Rome, in pursuing modernism, is pursuing her own shadow, inseparable from her and at the same time intangible. Modernism is slowly penetrating into the very Vatican and unconsciously settling in the minds of those very men who attack reform tendencies most fiercely. Pius X himself, by his Motu proprio [2] promulgated in 1911, in which he postpones to the following Sunday many special religious feasts falling on week days, has shown himself to be a modernist inasmuch as he has acknowledged the moral and material harm done to religion by the superabundance of feast-days and has at the same time recognised that the attendance at and the reverence for them are far from being what they used to be. Papal anti-modernism is not a war against a doctrine, or a defence of true religion, but a desperate attempt to preserve unshaken papal autocratic authority in ecclesiastical matters and its spiritual dominion over believers, for the Church of Rome is threatened in her doctrine and in her ecclesiastical authority, and any calm and impartial observer can see upon her forehead

[2] The difference between an *Encyclica* and a *Motu proprio* is this: the *Encyclica* deals only with doctrine; the *Motu proprio* deals with *discipline* and *practical matters*,

the mark of a deadly moral disease; a disease which is driving her to suicidal madness; and the suicidal madness with which the spirit of the Vatican is now possessed, shows itself above all in the war it has declared against all new currents of religious belief." [8]

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Is this modernism a new phenomenon? No; it is the most recent phase of the antagonism between two tendencies, which in a more or less acute form is found in every period of Church history. We have already seen it in our preceding chapters: Hermas and Hippolytus first; then Jovinian and Vigilantius, Claudius and Ratherius; in the Mediæval Ages, Arnold of Brescia, the Waldenses, St. Francis and the Franciscan movement, St. Dominic; at the time of the Renaissance, Dante, Savonarola, Michelangelo; all the martyrs of the Protestant revolution in Italy and in Europe; the heroes of the first dawn of the Italian evangelical mission; the exiles of Malta, Geneva, and London, what were they all? Were they not modernists? Were they not strong opposers of the tendency of a Church forgetful of her calling and eager to

[8] Leone Caetani, M.P.: *La crisi morale dell' ora presente: religione, modernismo e democrazia.* Roma, 1911.

become altogether worldly? And when the Church became worldly, was it not they who, in the spirit of John the Baptist, said to her: It is not lawful for thee to live as thou dost—and exhorted her to be converted and to go back to her first love and her primitive simplicity? These were modernists, and they wanted exactly what the modernists of our time demand: that the Church of their fathers should repent and believe, and that she should remember the greatness of her calling among the Latin race.

Between the modernists of other times which I have just mentioned and those of the present day, there stands, about the first half of the nineteenth century, a group of thinkers who were the continuators of the former and the forerunners of the latter.

Let us at least take note of some of them.

First of all there is Giuseppe Mazzini,[4] who, from the land of exile, wrote: "Roman Catholicism is nothing but the religion of man. The Church has been corrupted and must be reformed and led back to the simplicity and purity of apostolic times. In Italy, the right of reforming her

[4] Giuseppe Mazzini, the great Italian patriot and philosopher, was the spiritual founder of United Italy. He was born at Genoa and died at Pisa (1805-1872).

is not the privilege of the few, but of the whole Church, from the lowest to the highest; because by Church I do not mean the spiritual monopoly of a few, but the general assembly of all believers"; and he suggested the convocation of an Italian Council, which he hoped would be able "to save the Church from superstition and infidelity." Then Antonio Rosmini,[5] the immaculate philosopher, who denounced the five wounds of the Church. Vincenzo Gioberti,[6] who unmasked modern Jesuitism, and in his work *Catholic Reform,* which was inspired by Savonarola's words: "Ecclesia indiget reformatione," said: "Hitherto people wanted to reform Rome without Rome; nay, in spite of Rome; now they must reform Rome through Rome." Father Passaglia,[7] a Neapolitan Jesuit, who openly fought against the temporal power of the Popes and insisted on the urgent need of reforming ecclesiastical education and of going back to the primitive

[5] Antonio Rosmini, the Italian philosopher and founder of a new religious order (the Rosminians), was born at Rovereto in the Italian Tyrol in 1797, and died in 1855.

[6] Vincenzo Gioberti (1801-1852), an Italian philosopher and politician, was a native of Turin.

[7] Carlo Passaglia (1812-1887) was an Italian theologian, born in Lucca. He entered the order of Jesuits (1827), from which he was expelled when he espoused the cause of a united Italy and boldly attacked the temporal power of the Pope.

discipline of the Church. Monsignor Tiboni,[8] who wanted the Bible to be widely spread among the people and strongly opposed the exaggerated pretensions of modern Papacy. Monsignor Liverani,[9] a man held in high esteem by the Curia, who wrote a remarkable treatise on *Papacy, the Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy,* which made a great sensation. Also Reali, Perfetti, Salvoni, Moretti. But six men especially must not be overlooked. They are: Raffaello Lambruschini, Stanislao Bianciardi, Luigi Settembrini, Luigi Prota-Guirleo, Terenzio Mamiani, Father Curci.

Raffaello Lambruschini[10] was a priest highly respected by all and a great teacher. He put two

[8] Vide *Il Misticismo Biblico* di Mons. Pietro Emilio Tiboni, Dott. in Sacra Teologia, Prof. di Ebraico, etc. Milano, 1853.

[9] Francesco Liverani was born at Castel Bolognese in 1823. He was god-child of Pius IX. His persecution by the Pope commenced when he began to support Passaglia with great energy and to fight violently against the temporal power of the Popes, and especially against the Papal Court. After the publication of his book: *Il Papato, l'Impero e il Regno d'Italia,* he was deprived of his ecclesiastical dignities (he was a Canon of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome and held other offices), and, being reduced to poverty, retired into a very quiet private life in order to be able to continue to study and write in peace.

[10] Raffaello Lambruschini was born at Genova in 1788 and died at San Cerbone near Figline in Val d'Arno (Florence) in 1873. He was a Roman Catholic priest; a man with a large heart, and most nobly and spiritually minded. He conceived the idea of a reform in the Church when he saw many intellectual men of his country who, though feeling the need of some faith and not disbelieving the supernatural, still repelled Christianity. On ac-

vital questions to himself and the public: "The fundamental principles of the actual doctrines of the Roman Catholic clergy, the directing precepts of the actual ecclesiastical discipline, the spirit animating the teaching and the conduct of the clergy, are they really the principles, the precepts, and the spirit of the Gospel?" His answer was: "No." And again: "Are the accessory parts of religion, the parts which religion can and must adapt to the spirit of the times, in harmony with the spirit of our age?" Here, too, he was bound to answer, "No." And after having described the miserable condition of the Church of those days, he continued: "We cannot go on in this way. We must break the chains, throw off the yoke of a bondage harder than the Jewish one. We must go back to the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. We must get hold of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians and on it rebuild our religious life. If not, the world will lose itself; a spirit of rebellion will arise; nay, has already arisen. The Church is no longer loved as a mother; she is detested as a cruel step-mother; and

count of his advanced ideas, he was called by Gino Capponi "Il Luterino di Toscana" (the little Tuscan Luther). His precise ideas relating to the Church reform he cherished are to be found in a posthumous book of his, entitled: *Pensieri di un solitario*, and edited by Senator Marco Tabarrini.

we may be sure that being what she is on account of her errors, her ignorance, and her passions, she will fall as the Synagogue fell. The husk will fall off. The true Church of Jesus Christ will revive, will grow young and beautiful again as His new Bride." Lambruschini knew too well that such a rejuvenescence of the Church could only take place through a radical reform. "The reformation of the Church," he wrote, "is so necessary that it surely will be brought about in one or other of the following four ways: (1) By the Pope, or, at least, with the Pope; (2) by the bishops, without the Pope; (3) by the minor clergy, without the Pope and bishops; (4) by the laity without the clergy. The first (by the Pope or with the Pope) would be the easiest way, the quietest, the most acceptable; but where is a Napoleonic Pope to be found? The second (by the bishops without the Pope) I think is impossible; the third (by the minor clergy without the Pope and bishops) I do not think very probable; the fourth (by the laity without the clergy) I think to be even less probable than the third. But God's ways are not man's ways. If liberal-minded Protestants could see their way to unite themselves with reasonable Roman Catholics, with a view to bringing about this reforma-

tion, it would be greatly helped and facilitated. Nothing could oppose an opinion become so general."

Stanislao Bianciardi,[11] a noble and deeply spiritually-minded man, started an important paper in those times, intended to foster concord between religion and the State. It was called *L'Esaminatore* (The Examiner). "Our principle is this," wrote Bianciardi: "We want to examine the Church of Rome as she is at present, and judge her according to the triple rule by means of which the Church herself professes that all her doctrines and practices were and are established: (1) sound reason; (2) the Word of God as revealed in the Holy Scriptures; (3) the teaching of the apostles as universally received and followed by the early Church." "The supreme aim of this our modest enterprise," he wrote again, "is: To show how the Roman Catholic Church, if called back to her early principles, would be suffi-

[11] Stanislao Bianciardi was born in 1811 in the little village of Montegiovi on Mount Amiata (Siena). He studied law in the University of Siena, where he took his degree in 1831. He held several important public offices, giving every one the impression of an upright and noble-minded man. He translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress; Les adieux* and *Lucilla* by Ad. Monod; *Aonio Paleario* by G. Bonnet, and other momentous Protestant works into beautiful and exquisite Italian. He died in Florence on the 22d December, 1868.

cient to answer to the moral needs of our times. We shall follow this method: to compare the present with the past. Now, what are the actual conditions of Roman Catholicism in Italy? How has it been reduced to this state? What was it during the three first centuries of its life? What means should be adopted, within the Church and in the true spirit of the Church, to bring her back to her first purity?"

The great patriot and man of letters, Luigi Settembrini,[12] wrote from Naples to Bianciardi in August, 1864: "I am reading the *Examiner* with great pleasure and admiration. . . . I wish you every success. Go on! you will accomplish much good. Political without religious freedom is nothing but a short-lived fire, and cannot last. National conscience is the goal to be kept in view; error must be extirpated from it; and truth implanted in it. Rome, the great enemy, the first cause of all the evils of Italy, does not lie on the Tiber; she lies here, in our consciences; and here we must fight her. . . . How I wish that all our papers would understand that there is a more

[12] Luigi Settembrini (1813-1876), Italian writer and patriot, was born at Naples. Between 1839 and 1860 he spent many years in prison (at St. Stefano) and in exile (in Malta and in London) for his political views, expressed nowhere more forcibly than in the *Protesta del Popolo delle Due Sicilie* (1847).

serious question than the political one to cope with; namely, the religious question, which ought never to be lost sight of."

About 1862 a paper called *L'Emancipatore Cattolico* (The Catholic Emancipator) appeared, edited by a Dominican friar, Luigi Prota-Guirleo of St. Domenico Maggiore in Naples. It had a more practical tendency than the *Examiner*. It served as the official organ of an association of priests who wanted emancipation from Roman bondage. The association grew considerably in numbers. It counted as members about 3,500 priests and friars, double the number of laymen, 32 members of Parliament, 16 senators, 4 government ministers, 86 magistrates, 3 generals, 50 officers, and had also 32 secondary associations affiliated, scattered about in the various provinces of Italy. The movement was one of great importance, and who knows what national proportions it might not have assumed, had it not been for internal misunderstandings and the desertion of not a few who could not withstand the persecutions of the Curia.

Count Terenzio Mamiani,[13] the great Italian

[13] Count Terenzio Mamiani della Rovere (1799-1885), Italian poet, philosopher, and statesman, was born at Pesaro; took part in the revolutionary movements of 1831, and was banished. He

philosopher, published his dream, entitled: *La Rinascenza Cattolica* (*The Catholic Renaissance*), in the year 1862. In it he anticipated the fall of the temporal power of the Popes, who consented to become *primi inter pares* and to recognise as legitimate the harmonious relation of moral and political liberty with religion and the country. Mamiani's dream had its partial realisation eight years later in spite of the Vatican, when the Italians entered Rome on the 20th September, 1870, through the breach of Porta Pia.

The Jesuit Father Curci,[14] an old friend of Pius IX and founder of the Jesuit review, *Civiltà Cattolica,* brings us to 1871. Up to this date Curci had always been a staunch defender of the Vatican Curia; but a few months after the breach of Porta Pia he veered round and first in a pamphlet on the event of the 20th September, and then on several other occasions, and especially in a famous letter to the Pope, published in the *Rivista Eu-*

lived at Paris till 1846, and then became professor of philosophy at Turin. Subsequently he held office several times during Cavour's ministry.

[14] Carlo Maria Curci (1809-1891) founded (1850) the review *Civiltà Cattolica*, and wrote (1847) a trenchant answer to Gioberti's *Il Gesuita Moderno*. This publication, urging the reconciliation of the Holy See with Italy, resulted in his expulsion from the Jesuit order (1877). The other books by him, *La Nuova Italia* (1881) and *Il Vaticano Regio* (1883), were put on the *Index*.

ropea (European Review), he expressed the theory that man must resign himself in face of such facts in which it is his duty to acknowledge the hand of God. But the work of this man, whom Italians have too soon forgotten, did not consist of that only. His book *Il Vaticano Regio* (*The Vatican Court*) was a cry of protest against the Pope's thirst for earthly power, and against the worldliness of the Church; and his *New Testament Translated and Explained, with Exegetical and Ethical Notes,* showed how great was the love of this pious man for the Word of God, and how deeply convinced he was that a true and lasting spiritual regeneration of Italy could only be hoped for through the Gospel of Christ.

If we were to try and concentrate into one voice all the voices raised against papal Rome at a time not very distant from the present, that voice would demand: the abolition of compulsory celibacy for the clergy; the education of the clergy to be conducted not within the narrow limits of seminaries, but on broader lines and with a more ample horizon and to be completed in the national educational institutions, with a view of bringing together the priesthood and the laity, the Church and society; the Holy Scriptures to be spread all over the country and to become, as Chrysostom

wanted them to be, the manual of all believers; the abolition of the ordinance directing the same liturgy in a language not understood by the people to be used in all churches, and a return to the practice of the early Church when every nation prayed to God in her own language and all churches were intimately united by bonds of faith and love; the sacrament of Holy Communion to be administered in its biblical integrity, with the bread and the cup to the people; the restitution to the clergy and the people of their ancient rights concerning the election of their pastors; the restoration to the bishops of their ancient diocesan rights by which they occupied not a position of bondage such as at present, but a free and independent position.

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How has this revolutionary movement or rather this recent phase of antagonism between the two tendencies, the one ultra-conservative and the other progressive, been brought about?

Two things have caused it: namely, the condition into which Roman Catholicism has fallen, and Protestant influence.

First of all, I say, the condition into which Ro-

man Catholicism has fallen. In order to judge Roman Catholicism rightly one must not study it as it appears in Protestant lands or in the works of its great writers such as Newman, Manning, or others who have passed over from Protestantism to Romanism. Romanism, in Protestant lands, is quite different to what it is in Latin countries; there it cannot help being subjected to Protestant influence and so it moderates itself, for it knows that no Anglo-Saxon mind would ever accept as Christianity the many religious exhibitions that are accepted as such in the Abruzzi, the Neapolitan provinces, and Sicily; and as far as the great English writers are concerned and whom Roman Catholicism rightly boasts of, everybody knows that they accepted Romanism not as it is, but as they idealised it. What they describe is not real Romanism; it is a kind of ideal Romanism. If they were led intellectually to accept Roman Catholicism on account of the grandeur of its unity, its tradition, its apostolic succession, its liturgy, and its past providential mission especially at a time when barbarians inundated Europe, it is also a fact that as far as their conscience, their spirituality, and their immaculate lives were concerned, they still remained what they were, when Protestants; namely, Chris-

tians, in the highest, purest, and most exquisite sense of the word.

In order to judge rightly of Roman Catholicism, it is not enough to run through Italy from Piedmont to Sicily in a "train de luxe," only making momentary stoppages at the principal towns, entering the nearest church, and asking for information from the first person one meets, or to whom one has been given a card of introduction. In order to judge rightly of Roman Catholicism it is necessary to live in a Latin country, to study the people thoroughly, to examine all their religious practices, to search their very soul, to win the confidence of the noblest part of the clergy, and to enter into full communion of spirit and affection with those souls who suffer and mourn, and who long for redemption from a bondage that has become intolerable.

For to such a condition as that have we arrived.

The young seminarists are in a state of absolute unrest; they feel that the teaching imparted to them is far from being up to date; that the way in which they are prepared for practical life is absurd, and, therefore, they publish energetic protests in which they say: "What our school lacks is a fearless trust in science and freedom. Such fatal deficiency in our schools and studies

will last just as long as seminaries are not reformed into sacred places intended to sow lovingly and disinterestedly in the hearts of the young the first seeds of spirituality and science, as long as they remain what they are at present, namely: places where science is monopolised with a view to manufacturing useful and trustworthy ecclesiastical functionaries. We are living in a world of extraordinary narrowness, where strong virtues thrive no longer, but only passive, resigned individualities, pale hot-house flowers which wither as soon as the first winds of spring begin to blow."[15] And the seminarists exhort each other to prepare themselves for the coming insurrection, saying: "Brethren, the salvation of the Church lies in us!"

The pure, noble-minded clergy who conscientiously keep their vows are the exception; they give themselves heart and soul to works of charity, literature, and science; but all know by now that in Latin countries the larger part of the clergy live immorally and thus form one of the most dangerous centres of moral infection in society. Honest priests, those who in this respect also want to live in harmony with God and with their con-

[15] From a pamphlet entitled *La salvezza è in noi* (Salvation Lies in Us), and signed: *A Group of Seminarists:* October, 1909.

sciences, lift up their voices and cry: "We do not desire a hidden and sinful love any longer, the only one allowed us by the cruel law of celibacy, one full of intrigue and which must be kept in the dark. What we want is the love that does not fear the full light of day; the love of one woman who will devote to us without remorse the whole treasure of her affection; a love which is a rest in the beautiful and calm moments of life, and a source of strength when inevitable discouragements assail; in a word, the love of a wife to refine our sentiments, to help us in our endeavours to better our character. And with a wife's love, that also of children. Who can ignore the educative power that emanates from the consciousness of paternity? Why should we, from whom the duty of honesty and straightforwardness is required more than from others, be deprived of such efficacious means of moral education?"[16]

Outside the Church, religion no longer exists; or, at least, what there is of religion is, to a large extent, a form without true Christian godliness. For instance: at the last census taken in Florence on the 10th June, 1911, out of a population of 232,-

[16] From a pamphlet entitled *Il Processo Don Riva. Appello al laicato e riflessioni di un gruppo di sacerdoti* (The trial of Don Riva. An appeal to the laity. Reflections of a group of priests). Florence, 1908.

860 souls, 205,697 returned themselves as Roman Catholics; but you need only ask the most active parish priests of the town what proportion that number bears to the number of true and practising Roman Catholics they come into contact with, and you will be surprised at their answer. Moreover, in a city like Florence, out of 232,860 souls, of whom 6,000 profess to belong to other confessions, 21,170 at the time of the census declared that they belonged to no religion whatever.

In other towns things are still worse; and the forms religion assumes are such that one cannot believe them to be true unless really seen. Last summer (1911) two popular leaflets were widely circulated in Genoa where cholera was raging. The one was entitled: "A Prayer to St. Martha for deliverance from cholera." It said: "I am Martha, Christ's hostess. Whoever confides in me will be preserved from the epidemic. The power to impart this grace I have received from Christ, the Lord." Then followed several other prayers, and at the end was the instruction: "To be carried on one's person." The leaflet cost 5 centimes. The other bore the inscription: "Wonderful effects of the water of St. Ignatius. It is simple, natural water, called by that name because it has been blessed

with one of the relics of the Saint." Then followed an enumeration of the prodigious effects of the water, as experienced during all epidemics from 1656 to the present day. After which, came the notice: "The use of this water *may* be followed with the Lord's prayer or a prayer to the saint." And at the end, this intimation: "St. Ignatius' water is to be had in the vestry of the Church of the *Cinque Piaghe* (Five Wounds, a church of the Jesuit Fathers). One could scarcely witness a sadder and more miserable spectacle than that offered by the bigoted women of the people and by people of all ranks of society making their way to the Church of the *Cinque Piaghe* with bottles and flasks to be filled with the precious liquid, after they had offered their voluntary contribution to the Jesuit on duty. The liquid was simply water from a common source into which a bone of the saint had been immersed! But the awful iniquity of it all lies in this: that the two leaflets bore the *Imprimatur* of ecclesiastical authority; which means that those authorities had seen the leaflets, had read and approved them, and had authorised their being spread abroad.[17]

And what about the south of Italy, where, in several places, penitents have to clean the church,

[17] Vide *Battaglie d'Oggi:* Anno VII, Fasc. V, 1911, p. 280.

from the door to the high altar, with their tongue; or to make crosses on the ground with their tongue until it bleeds; or go from their home to the church on their knees?[18] where in cathedrals the preachers who are sent to fight Protestant heresy, in order to show their exasperation to all, pretend to wound themselves with instruments devised for the purpose, and make the saints and Madonnas on their altars speak, laugh, or weep, according to their fancy? where just as in the past religion was intimately connected with brigandage,[19] so it is now in close touch with the *camorra* and the *mafia?*

Is it to be wondered at if the intelligent and honest part of the clergy feel bound to take the matter in hand and to think of the future of the Church? Not long ago a large group of priests wrote a letter addressed to Pius X. "Our society," they said, "has now for many years entirely held aloof from the Church, which it considers as an ancient and inexorable foe. The old cathedrals, which the piety of free, believing peoples in the Middle Ages raised to the Virgin and to Patron Saints, are now utterly deserted; men

[18] Vide *Battaglie d'Oggi:* Anno VII, Fasc. VI, 1911, p. 355.

[19] *Vide* Avv. Giuseppe Leti: *Roma e lo Stato Pontificio dal 1849 al 1870,* Vol. II, p. 61.

no longer care to draw from religion the strength and light necessary to the soul agitated by daily struggles; respect and veneration for all that from the cradle has been held most sacred, has vanished. And that is not all, for the Church is considered to be an obstacle to the happiness of nations; the priest is insulted in public as a common, ignorant parasite; the Gospel and Christianity are regarded as expressions of a decayed civilisation, because they are entirely insufficient to respond to the ideals of freedom, justice, and science which are moving the masses." And after pointing out the great evils that harass the Church in our day, they exclaim: "We are not rebels! We are sincere Catholics; and, as such, we desire to stand up for the salvation of Christianity."[20] Only a few months ago, Leone Caetani, whom I have already quoted,[21] gave utterance to the following grave charge: "The Roman Church has forgotten her old, popular traditions, and has ceased to exercise the beneficent reforming influence with which she used to stimulate progress and every moral improvement, and which was her principal 'raison d'être' in the early centuries. She does not live any longer, as she once did, for the de-

[20] Vide *****: *Lettera aperta a Pio X* (An open letter to Pius X).

[21] *Vide* n. 3.

fence of the poor and the humble as against the rich and great of the world. She has herself become worldly, rich, and powerful, and only tries to maintain unchanged the present condition of things; she shrinks from all innovation; and to the poor and humble she preaches . . . resignation. Reduced as she is without vigour or power of adapting and evolving herself, benumbed after so many centuries of existence and already threatened with her death-blow, she can but repeat ecclesiastical and theological formulæ, one thousand six hundred years old at least, formulæ that are in sharp contrast with the deepest moral needs of the present moment. The most ignorant masses in the country and in regions least touched by modern culture, are still faithfully attached to her just as in past centuries; and their attachment is explained by the fact that their spirit is still what it used to be a thousand and more years ago. In that lies her intrinsic weakness, for it is especially in the cultivated classes that the elevating power of religion is to be found. A religion, to be true, must be the religion of all, not only of the most ignorant and miserable." [22]

[22] Leone Caetani, M.P.: *La crisi morale dell' ora presente: religione, modernismo e democrazia.* Roma, 1911.

Such being the condition of things, is it surprising that the modernist movement has arisen?

The other reason for this revolutionary movement is to be found, as I have already said, in Protestant influence.

During the last sixty years evangelical churches have been built from the Alps to the very end of Sicily, evangelical educational institutions have been established, works of charity have been founded, while the Tract Society for Italy has inundated the country with polemic, apologetic, ethical, and doctrinal tracts and books, and the London and Scottish Bible Societies have sent their colporteurs throughout the country selling every year thousands and thousands of copies of the Holy Word. Now, is it credible that all this huge combined work should have exercised no influence whatever on the Roman Catholic Church in Italy? It would be possible to show that a larger and deeper influence might have been exercised, had our first missionaries in Italy understood each other better from the very beginning; but the fact is that, in spite of all human weaknesses, a great influence has indeed been exercised by Protestantism on the Roman Catholic Church of Italy. The following are the proofs of such an influence.

I have often thought that if all the presidents

of the various Protestant missions in Italy and if all the ministers of the different churches were to gather together all their correspondence—past and present—with Roman Catholic priests and friars, Christian literature would be enriched by many volumes of the most interesting and important psychological studies. I have a huge pile of those letters myself, and I like to go over them again and again; their repeated perusal enables me to enter better into a deeper fellowship with a number of struggling souls, who mourn over the present condition of the Church they love, and long for a purifying breath from on high and for a general revival of her spiritual life. Some of them would like to leave their Church and join us in our missionary work; but by far the greater number of them want to remain where they are, and to work for a renovation within the Church. If they come to us, it is only to get sympathy, comfort, and advice. The cultured Italian modernists find their spiritual nourishment in Protestant literature; our latest books are to be found in their private libraries, either in their original language or in translations; and in their writings, in their sermons, in their modernistic utterances, the influence of French Protestant literature, especially, is evident.

Some time ago I was struck by the fact that there seemed to be a revival in the interest shown by the public in Christian preaching in the Roman Catholic Church of Italy. Some names were mentioned with great appreciation; when a special course of sermons was being delivered, the attendance grew day by day; some preachers attracted not only old men and women, but young folk, thinking men, professors, and officers in the army. All this filled my heart with joy, and I began to make eager inquiries. I went about myself, and engaged friends, who I knew were as much interested in the subject as I was, to make inquiries. We soon found that nearly all the preachers who attracted people in great numbers were either modernists or men with new and broad ideas, large hearts, and wide sympathies, and that the reason for such attraction lay in the new style of their preaching. They never assaulted Protestantism in the rabid, unjust, absurd way of the ordinary orthodox sermoniser; they had given up the old fables concerning the immorality of Luther, the heartlessness of Calvin, and the conviviality of Zwingli, which had been the " pièces de résistance " of the old monks; they took a text from the Word of God, they quoted it in the language understood by the people, they applied it to

the religious and moral needs of their hearers, and all this was done in simple language, in a pure and unpretentious style; and the people, who had tired of the conventional and high-flown but empty preaching of the ordinary friars, were drawn to this new, natural, spiritual, conversational method of address. I went further in my inquiries. I wrote right and left to the preachers I knew, and asked them to help me in my researches; and here are some of the answers I received from different parts of Italy. One wrote: "My evangelical sermons have stirred the old clerical circles in an incredible way. They have tried in all ways to defame me, but have not succeeded. The most enlightened priests and friars and the most cultured men we have in this town, have defended me with all their strength. I have done my best always to be theologically correct, avoiding dangerous bones of contention, and limiting myself to affirming most energetically the fundamental truths of the Gospel." Another from a distant town ended his most interesting letter with these sympathetic words: "How I love your French evangelical preachers! I am their spiritual son. I am just now engaged in a very unpleasant piece of work. Two Protestant ladies wish me to instruct them in order to enter the Church of Rome. Naturally,

I cannot refuse; but I feel sorry for them. What folly to bid good-bye to one's holy freedom for the sake of accepting the yoke of the Church of Rome—a yoke we ourselves are scarcely able to bear any longer. What I teach them is the Gospel of Christ, which, up to the present, they have, spiritually speaking, completely ignored. If, with the help of God, I succeed in putting them into personal contact with the Saviour, I think it matters very little what church they belong to." In a Lombard town I had heard a striking address, which strongly reminded me of some French sermon I must have heard or read, but which I had forgotten. As soon as I returned to Florence, I wrote to the preacher, who answered: "Yes, I do not wonder that you felt, as you say, 'a breath of your native air' in my sermon. I will tell you frankly, the Roman Catholic models have had no influence whatever on my preaching; the French and Swiss Protestant preachers, such as Vinet, Adolphe, Horace and Wilfred Monod, Babut, Coquerel père et fils, Charles Wagner and many others, have been and are my teachers, my models, my inspirers, the makers of what I am."

Is all this not quite sufficient to show that Prot-

estant influence has had its share in the preparation of the modernist movement?

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It is now time to inquire what this reform within the Church so cherished by modernists should consist in. Have the modernists got a programme? And if so, what is it?

In 1908 a group of modernists issued a programme which was translated into French and English. It made a great sensation. As the movement unfortunately began with a conspicuous hypercritical tendency, this programme, which was an answer to the famous Encyclical of Pius X, "Pascendi Dominici Gregis," was hypercritical, and, in its fundamental part, destructive of Christianity.[23]

Had the movement followed that track unswervingly, modernism would have died long ago. A movement like that could not have withstood the force of Rome, and would have been condemned from its birth to sterility and death. But the

[23] * * * * *: *Il Programma dei Modernisti. Risposta all' Enciclica di Pio X, "Pascendi Dominici gregis."* Roma: Società internazionale scientifico-religioso editrice, 1908. The papal Encyclical was issued on the 8th September, 1907 (the fifth year of the Pope's pontificate).

modernists understood that was not the track to follow in order to reach a practical goal, and so they began to take another direction. To-day, only a handful survive of the representatives of the initial hypercritical movement; they are men who scarcely deign to look your way; they have gone forward and have left Christ and His followers far behind. But while their hypercritical and destructive programme is almost forgotten, the new modernism, healthy and powerful, which has by now penetrated the humble country parish as well as the Vatican, and is especially represented by the young clergy to whom the future belongs, has issued a new programme, which is one of the strongest and most eloquent signs of the times. And this one is as clear and practical as the other was misty and theoretic.

This is what it sets forth:[24]

First of all, it states that it is the right and duty of the Church alone to accomplish a religious reform; and that by the term *Church* one is to understand not the ambitious and unscrupulous "ecclesiola" or "sect" gathered round the Pope, but the union of all believers in Christ, who,

[24] Gennaro Avolio: *La Riforma religiosa. Battaglie d'Oggi.* Naples: April, 1911.

through their works, show the sincerity of their faith in Him. Then follows a statement concerning the reform they aim at: "We want the revision of dogma, the revision of all our confessions of faith; we want to see separated that which is substantial in Christianity from that which has been added subsequently in the interest of the sacerdotal caste. We want the authority of the Pope to be confined to its just limits, and the ancient authority and their rights and freedom to be given back to the episcopacy and to the laity. We want all believers to have the right of free research in all fields recognised as legitimate. We do not want the abolition of the hierarchy, but we want all the grades of the hierarchy, from the humblest to the highest, to be represented not by ambitious, crafty men, or by intriguers, but by men imbued with the apostolic spirit. We want to do away once and for all with the ridiculous fiction of the Pope being a prisoner of the Italian Government. We want to see the Pope go himself from diocese to diocese in order to get to know men and things from personal observation and to obtain a personal knowledge of all ecclesiastical abuses, and so to depose all unworthy priests and bishops. Among the rights to be restored to the

clergy, we want celibacy to be voluntary, not compulsory. If it is true that marriage is a sacrament for the layman, we want it to be the same for the priest also. Why should it be only a curse and a shame to the priest? As far as worship is concerned, we wish to have it brought back to its ancient simplicity and purity. We want the abolition of the Latin language in the liturgy; the abolition of all those fables and idols, which not only have no justification in any true and certain tradition, but are very often shown by sound criticism to be historically inexistent. We want the veneration due to the great saints of the Church not to replace the worship due to God alone; and we do not want this worship to be material as at present, but to become again the worship ' in spirit and in truth.' We want to put a stop to the excessive right of guardianship that the priest has always exercised over the faithful; that kind of guardianship which may, perhaps, have its use (although we even seriously question this) during spiritual infancy, but which becomes utterly disastrous and humiliating in the case of the spiritually grown-up. The adult must be able to do many things by himself; and as far as his conscience is concerned, he must know that be-

tween his conscience and his God there is no room for human mediators. We want the rights of the laity to be fully recognised in the Church; not only in matters of administration, but, above all, where the election of pastors is concerned. We want the separation of the Church from the State. We want the abolition of all false devotional practices; and as a substitute for all morbidly sentimental books of prayers and pious meditations, we desire the Gospel of Christ, the greatest book that Christianity possesses, the only book able to educate the spirit to a true and manly piety. In concluding, we ask: From whom are we to expect all these reforms and the many others which our Christian conscience demands? It is almost useless to expect them from those in high places. The only thing they can think of, is: to keep believers chained and silent, and to retain episcopacy in their power, with an iron hand. We believe that the reforming power lies in the people. When Christian conscience awakens in the masses, the day of reform within the Church will not be far off. To accomplish this we must all work energetically. The people themselves, possessed once more with the full consciousness of their rights, will enjoin the reform of the Church on those in high places; and the first institution to be abol-

ished will be that fiction and disgrace of the Church of Christ called ' political papacy.' "

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Now it seems to me to be as clear as daylight that if we want to take any interest whatever in the spiritual welfare of Italy, or if we wish to cherish the idea of a new communion of spirit and love with the Roman Catholic Church also, in a time such as ours when the atmosphere is saturated with the preoccupation of reuniting the churches, even those furthest apart from each other, our sympathies ought to go out not to the official Vatican, not towards the Curia, which are the negation of Christianity, but towards those struggling modernists, who are fighting the Curia and the Vatican in the name of Christianity, so as to free their Church from a bondage that has become unbearable, and to bring her back into the liberty wherewith Christ has made her free.

When, in preparing this chapter, I arrived at this point, an idea struck me: I wrote to three modernists, one in the north of Italy, one in the centre, and one in the south. I chose three representative men in order that their answer might not be the voice of one individual, but of hundreds and hundreds of Italian priests and friars.

I put to them a very simple question. I said: "I am going to the United States. To the brethren beyond the ocean I shall speak of you and of your ideal. Give me a message for them. A short message, but to the point; a message that I may say is one coming from the very heart of Italian modernism."

The man from the north, a priest, answered:

"You know what modernism is aiming at, as well as we do. Put our aim clearly before their eyes. Do your best to persuade them that we are not either hypercritics, or destroyers of Christianity, or rebels against the Church of our Fathers. We are Christians, believers in the revelation God has made of Himself in several ways, and finally and completely through Christ; we want the inspired document of that revelation, the Bible, to become again the unshaken basis of our belief and of our morals; we want the Church of Rome, which once upon a time was Christian and is now the corrupt and worldly church of the Vatican, to become again a true branch of the great Church of Christ. Tell our Christian brethren beyond the ocean that we expect their earnest prayers, their brotherly sympathy."

The man from central Italy, also a priest, was ill when he received my letter. He wrote thus:

"I cannot write you a long letter. I am in ill health and am writing to you from my bed. Just a word, then. Tell our American brethren this only, in our name: There are in Italy thousands and thousands of priests, friars, seminarists, in a condition of terrible spiritual bondage. They are longing for freedom, they are fighting to the death for their deliverance. The American brethren who are interested in the establishment of the Kingdom of God in Italy, must choose between the oppressors and the oppressed. Is it possible that free America will ever waste her sympathy on our spiritual tyrants?"

The man from the south, a layman of great influence in modernist circles in the southern provinces of Italy, sent me the following address to you:

"Brethren, what we want is this: We believe in God, in Christ as our Saviour and the Saviour of humanity, in the omnipotent power of the Holy Ghost. We accept as divine the substance of Christianity as set forth by the Gospel and by ancient tradition, and therefore we fight against everything which man has added, and which is a hindrance to the spiritual progress of humanity. We fight, that is to say, against all errors and abuses of the Church, and, above all, against the

sectarian and domineering spirit of the Curia, against the trade in sacred things, the materialisation of religion into a form that no longer reaches the soul, no longer educates and sanctifies, but lulls the conscience to sleep in a kind of morbid piety, which reduces it to a most dangerous and false state. This condition of things cannot and must not last, if the Church herself and society are to be saved. And the first to lift up their voices for the Church must be the children of the Church, just as in all times the voices of the saints were the first that rose up against the abuses of the leaders of the Church. Our protest is inspired not by hatred, but by love, and it cannot remain unfruitful; it is meant to shake men in high and low condition, but, above all, it is meant to prepare a new Italian conscience, the really Christian conscience of the land. Brethren, you who, carrying the banner of freedom and civilisation, are in the vanguard in the triumphal march of modern nations, will you not sympathise with us in our great undertaking? ''

I have delivered the messages of my friends. Let them not, I beg of you, be delivered in vain.

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Will the modernists ever succeed in their ef-

forts? Will the world ever witness the realisation of their ideal? Will the Church so dear to their hearts, the Church which they think responds best to the genius and temperament of the Latin races, the historical Church, with her episcopal ritual, her strong ecclesiastical organisation, her glorious traditions, her majestic cathedrals, ever be inspired anew with the Spirit of Christ, and consecrated again to God and to His worship "in spirit and in truth"?

To be a prophet is always a difficult undertaking; but in this case to prophesy is more difficult than ever. Nevertheless prophets and prophecies concerning the religious future of Italy are not wanting.

Two I will mention as among the most important.

Leone Caetani, in the momentous pamphlet I have already twice alluded to,[25] has a vision of the future, which is also that of many noble-minded Italians. Let me try to sum up his idea in few words: We must distinguish between religion and religious sentiment. Religion is the outward form, the fleeting phenomenon, perpetually changing according to the times, places, and conditions of civilisation among the various branches of the

[25] *Vide* notes 3 and 22.

human race; religious sentiment, instead, is a universal, immanent, fundamental, indestructible phenomenon of the human soul. Now, religions controlled by the clergy with rites and dogmas are social phenomena which, although they are long-lived, are doomed in time to disappear. Clergy, rites, and dogma were once upon a time necessary to human society, in the same way as despotic monarchy. Humanity, in her moral infancy, needed special moral support to enable her to establish herself as a strong social organisation; now she steers herself towards religious conceptions which are purely individual and subjective, free from all ritualistic ties, from all ecclesiastical laws, and from all sacerdotal interference. The social movement of our day opposes the principle of authority, and is widespread in schools, in administrations, in the family, in the Church, and even in the army. Nothing can stop it. Society aims at a far superior equilibrium than that of the past; an equilibrium grounded on respect for other people's rights, in order to obtain respect for its own. The religion of the future must assume that fundamental characteristic; only by doing so will it become a high moral discipline. In a word: the religion of the future will have only one law: the inner will of every single individual; and

one constant rule: respect for other people's opinions and rights. In the new order of things the Church of Rome will be reduced to the condition of an innocuous sect of conservatives, without followers and without prestige. All the anti-religious manifestations of the societies which we see springing up around us will die, for they are nothing but the result of the great power which the Church of Rome still possesses. When the cause is dead, the effects will necessarily die also.[26]

Such is Caetani's revolutionary conception; a vision possessing true and false elements. The vision is true inasmuch as it admits the indestructibility of religious sentiment in man, but it is absolutely false when it exaggerates religious individualism. The Spirit of Christ, when really at work, instead of isolating those whom it inspires, aims at uniting them and binding them together in a great common cause: that of the triumph of the Kingdom of God: the triumph of Goodness in the life of humanity. It is true that the Church of Rome, as she is now, is nothing but a political organisation and, therefore, a creation of the

[26] Leone Caetani, M.P.: *La crisi morale dell' ora presente: religione, modernismo e democrazia.* Roma, 1911. *Vide* pp. 46, 48, 49, 52.

spirit of the world. But that does not render less true the other fact that there exists a legitimate collectivism created by the Spirit of God. The pentecostal Spirit that filled the one hundred and twenty in the "upper room," created at the same time the Church. It is in the very nature of the Spirit to act in this wise. If it is true that the Spirit sanctifies individuals, it sanctifies them in order that they may form a spiritual body. The Spirit of God is not a spirit of egoism; it is a spirit of brotherhood.

The second vision I alluded to, I may call: "The vision of the final triumph of modernism." It has recently found expression in a novel entitled: *When We* (the Roman Catholic Church) *Will Not Die* (*Quando non morremo*), written by Mario Palmarini.[27] The novel has had a great success, helped by the fact that a few days after it had been issued, the Curia censured it and placed it on the *Index;* for this is the way people reason in Italy nowadays: The books which the Church censures are always good; such and such a book has been censured by the Church, therefore it is good; let us buy and read it.

[27] Mario Palmarini: *Quando non morremo.* Romanzo eroico. Dott. Riccardo Quientieri, editore. Milano: Novembre, 1911.

The novel depicts things as they will be about fifty years hence. Pius X, dead; Leo XIV, his successor, also dead; but, before dying, he has completely ruined the Church. Meanwhile modernism has continued its work steadfastly, has invaded the Vatican and has conquered the greater number of the cardinals.[28] The heads of the movement have their eyes on a cardinal, Father Silvester from Fermo (Marca of Ancona), a modernist, a large-hearted man, living a truly simple, apostolic life. The conclave meet to elect the new Pope, and Father Silvester is elected by a large majority. He assumes the name of Peter II. The

[28] The idea is not, after all, so absurd as it looks at first sight. Here is what Leone Caetani wrote in 1911, in the pamphlet already quoted in notes 3, 22, 25, 26: "One of the reasons why Pius X has not convened the Consistory and for three years has not created new Cardinals, is because he has for some time found it morally impossible to get out of the following difficulty: Of the eligible 'Monsignori' the most intelligent are more or less modernists; and the non-modernists are such moral and intellectual nonentities as to make their promotion impossible. The latter would compromise everything in one sense, as the former would in another. Pius X, not knowing what to do, and preferring to leave unchanged the colour, or status, of the Sacred College, decided to take no action in the matter of the election of Cardinals for more than three years. If he has now (Autumn, 1911) determined to fill the vacant chairs in the Sacred College, it is because he has been compelled to do so by imperious exigencies. The names in his list reveal that of the two evils he has chosen the greater, inasmuch as he has thrown himself completely into the arms of the orthodox reaction."

new Pope writes a letter to the King of Italy throbbing with patriotism and deep spirituality. He leaves the Vatican and takes up his residence at Castle Gandolfo. He is often to be seen driving through Rome in his beautiful white motor-car; and on the 2d of June, the great Italian national festival, with his face turned towards the colossal statue of the first King of Italy, the King of the revolution, he blesses the huge crowd in Piazza Venezia. On the 20th September, the date of the first entry of the Italian troops into Rome, and, therefore, of the fall of the Pope's temporal power, he orders the national flag to be hoisted over Castel Gandolfo; and to the astonishment and admiration of the whole world, he purifies the Church from all old and new superstitions, directs the thoughts of the clergy into new and modern paths, and places the consciences of believers in harmony with the teaching of Christ. The impression caused by this revolution is so deep, that Protestant nations return to the fold, and the most rabid enemies of Christianity end by declaring themselves won, and unite their energies to those of Peter II and of the renovated Church, to work with them for the welfare of humanity.

Palmarini's vision, too, has its weak points. It

is not necessary to say that the colours are too vivid, even more so than what may be admitted in a book such as this which is a battle-cry, in a novel that the author himself has called "heroic." But the weakest point of the book lies in the Christianity professed by Peter II. He is not a Christian; he is a pantheist; and his reform is to be carried out by love, but a love which is not a reflection of the love of God in man, or a creation of the Spirit, but simply what our poor human love can be. Now what radical reform can ever be expected from a love such as that in a ruined Church like the Church of Rome?

Yet, notwithstanding the many and great shortcomings of the book, I trust that the reform of the Church of Rome will more or less be carried out on the lines pointed out by Palmarini. Let modernism persevere in its work of infiltration, let it become more and more "Christo-centric" in its belief, in its aspirations, in its programme; let it organise itself in such a way as to envelop the whole Church in a solid network such as that with which the "Carboneria" enveloped the States of Italy at the time of foreign bondage; let it continue to win the confidence of the best part of the laity; let the Protestant churches of Italy come to understand the solemnity of the present hour and

resolve to help from without the work which the modernists are accomplishing from within; and on that day in which God gives the historic Church of Rome a truly apostolic Peter II, a Peter far different from that of Mario Palmarini, you will then witness extraordinary things. What harm, I ask, would there be in having in our Latin race a truly Christian Episcopal Church working hand in hand with the other evangelical churches in view of the moral and spiritual redemption of Italy? And even if the form of the Christian Church more congenial to the nature of the Latin race were to be Episcopal and not Presbyterian or Congregationalist as we have perhaps sometimes fancied, should we on that account be grieved? After all, which of the great forms assumed by ecclesiastical organisations has been justified and which condemned by the teaching of Jesus? Are there not perhaps Presbyterians as clerical as the Pope himself? Are there not perhaps Episcopalians as humble as the humblest of Presbyterians? Do we not find Congregationalists with such a catholicity of spirit as is seldom displayed by Presbyterians or Episcopalians? Let us learn from Jesus; let us not concern ourselves with forms; let us not expect the Spirit to shape itself according to our mould, but let

us rather concern ourselves with the Spirit and leave the Spirit itself to create the forms that will best serve the nature and genius of the nations which Christ has come to redeem.

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